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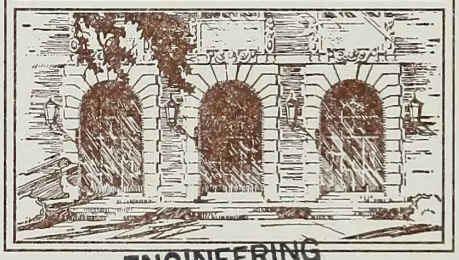

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COUNTY JAILS IN ILLINOIS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

by

John R. Kimberly
David B. Rottman

August 31, 1973

COUNTY JAILS IN ILLINOIS

A Comparative Analysis of Local Contexts,
Inmate Populations, Jail Characteristics and Staff Orientations

Final Report Prepared For: The
Illinois Institute for Social Policy

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August, 1973

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All observations and interpretations given in this report are, however solely the responsibility of the authors.

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I

INTRODUCTION

This is the Final Report of the County Jail Study funded by the Illinois Institute for Social Policy. As originally conceived, this study was to undertake a comparative analysis of eight county jails in Illinois with the objective of delineating the nature of social relationships that obtained within these organizations and developing a model capable of furthering the understanding of behavioral patterns of inmates and staff in any specific jail and explaining variations among jails. Often the research process is shaped, however, by what is learned during that process. To ignore what is learned, what was originally unanticipated, is, in our opinion, at best to constrain the research process artifically and at worst to distort the nature of the phenomena of interest. In the case of the County Jail Study, the nature of the research was modified considerably by learning that took place in the course of the project. While the original intent was to focus on the internal properties of the jail, as the research progressed it became increasingly apparent that the internal dynamics of the jail could not be clearly understood without taking certain aspects of the local context of which it was a part into account. Thus, the research strategy which emerged went beyond what was originally envisioned; it is hoped the outcomes are more meaningful as a result.

The strategy initially developed was based on our relative dissatisfaction with studies of jails with which we were familiar, and our feeling that jails in general have received far less attention from researchers than the importance of their role in the criminal justice system warrants. Indeed, at times jails seem as if they were in fact invisible. This is far from a coincidence, and to understand this quality of obscurity and its causes is to go a long way toward understanding the role that jails play in the criminal justice system in

this country. Our strategy was predicated on the notion that the objective of understanding the internal dynamics of jail social structure would best be served through intensive study of a relatively small number of these organizations. The feeling was that the payoffs to be derived from such a "close-up" view would compensate for the limitations which a sample size of eight places on the possibilities for statistical analysis. In our estimation, this strategy was effective, as it appears that it is only through direct observational and interactional contact with the jail that the kinds of relationships of interest initially can be documented. The results of this in-depth study of eight jails have been sufficiently suggestive to encourage an additional stage in the research process, and we are currently designing a project whose objective will be the collection of data from a sample of jails large enough to permit systematic testing of many of the propositions which have emerged in the course of the research to be discussed in this report.

Research Perspective

To a large extent, the research findings presented in the two sections which follow may make the jail seem a stranger to some of those who work in them. This is a consequence of the attempt to take the information provided to us by jail staffs and put it into an organizational perspective, one which emphasizes patterns of interdependence among various components of the organization and between the organization and its environment. Since it is generally the case that individuals in organizations have views of organizational reality conditioned by the roles they play and hence views which are somewhat incomplete, the patterns which can be constructed from the interweaving of a number of individuals' views is likely to be different from any one view. It should also be pointed out, of course, that the view of organizational reality constructed

on this basis is no more "real" than that of any individual member of the organization. The primary advantage of this process is that it provides a different perspective, and, because this perspective can take the panoply of individual views into account, it may reveal patterns which would otherwise go unnoticed.

While the perspective here is organizational, it is also comparative. There was no assumption made that patterns obtaining in one jail would be identical with those in another and the research was, in fact, designed to permit examination of the extent of similarity and difference. Where differences were observed, attempts - not always successful - were made to discern their etiology. The result is a series of observations and analyses which goes beyond description of jail characteristics and moves in the direction of a more comprehensive statement of the role of jails as organizations in the complexity of interrelationships that is local criminal justice systems.

Were one interested in affixing an identifying label of some sort to the research perspective used in this report, then, we would suggest something like "comparative organizational sociology." This label should communicate as much about what the report is not as what it is. It is not an investigation of the personalities of sheriffs, jail officers, or inmates. It is not a study of jail management. It is not a case study of a single jail. Rather it is an attempt to understand patterns of behavior within the jail and between the jail and other organizations through comparative analysis of a variety of internal and external constraints which impinge on its operation. As such it may serve as a preliminary effort to further our understanding of a heretofore somewhat obscured cornerstone of our criminal justice system.

Research Methodology

As a guide for the interested reader, a brief summary of the research

procedures followed will be presented including sample selection, data collection techniques and the on-site research strategy which was developed.

1. Sample Selection--Given the "close-up" view of jails that was desired, resource considerations dictated that eight jails could be studies in sufficient depth for research purposes. Since there are some 100 county jails in the State of Illinois, however, a means for determining which eight jails would be included in the study had to be determined. Initially it was decided that the study should be limited to those jails whose average daily population consisted of ten or more individuals, and that the state's largest jail, Cook County, would not be included.[1] It is important that the reader be aware of this decision, for it constrains, to a certain degree, the generalizability of the findings. When Cook County and jails with an average daily population of less than 10 inmates were eliminated from the population, twenty seven jails remained as the population from which the sample was to be drawn. As an aside, this means that more than two-thirds of the county jails in the state have very small inmate populations, a statistic which in and of itself raises some important kinds of questions.

For purposes of research design, we wanted to include jails in both "rural" and "urban" areas within the state. Accordingly, the twenty seven jails were divided into two groups, one consisting of those jails whose county was "less than fifty percent rural" according to the 1970 Census and the other comprised of jails whose counties were more than fifty percent rural. Four jails were then randomly selected from each group.

Since it was possible that research access could not be obtained in all eight of the jails, two more jails were randomly selected from each group as "back-ups." It was not necessary to use them, however, as access was obtained in all eight jails originally selected.

2. Data Collection Techniques--Data were collected through use of a variety of techniques including structured questionnaires and interviews, semi-structured interviews, structured observation and open-ended observation. Thus, there were multiple data sources used which permitted triangulation of responses in certain instances. Four different sources of structured data are used in the report. First, some seventy questions used in the Illinois Jails Survey of 1967-68 conducted by the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice at the University of Chicago were included in an instrument administered in an interview situation with a member of the command staff of each jail, usually the chief jail officer. Second, the data from the 1967-68 Survey were used in some cases to add a longitudinal dimension to the research. While the questions asked in each of the eight jails were identical in wording to those used in that survey, the categories employed to report the results have in some cases been modified to suit our specific research needs. Third, a set of questions was prepared specifically for use in this study and was included with those from the Survey in the structured interview with the chief jail officer. The instrument used in this interview is included in Appendix A.

A fourth set of structured data comes from a questionnaire administered to the staffs of seven of the eight jails designed to elicit their perceptions of what appeared to us to be important aspects of jail organization and administration. This instrument, too, is included in Appendix A.

Finally, observational data were collected in each of the jails on the procedures used in the jail and the nature of inmate-staff relations which prevailed, both on a structured and unstructured basis. In addition, efforts were made to converse casually with both jail officers and inmates as opportunities presented themselves, and in many cases individuals outside the jail itself were contacted.

The data collection techniques used, therefore, were designed to insure comparability across the eight jails on the one hand while retaining enough flexibility so that the unique properties of particular jails would not be overlooked.

3. On-Site Strategy--In total, several days were spent in each of the eight jails. The number of actual days during which the jails were visited ranged from a minimum of three to a maximum of six days. While the questions asked of the primary respondent took at most several hours, obtaining the jailer interviews entailed spending a substantial amount of time in a jail and we therefore were able to confirm many of the answers given by the primary respondent as well as carry out extensive observation of the way in which the jail was run. All of the interviewing and observation work was done by two field workers, with each jail being visited by both, though at separate times.

On additional set of data was collected, but as yet has only been partially analyzed. During the course of the research, the opportunity to use the booking records of one of the jails arose, with the result that a random sample of all commitments to that jail in a five year period was obtained.

4. Format of the Report--The results of the research are presented in the three sections which follow. The first section outlines a model which provides a way of thinking about the relationships between those aspects of jails which appear to be the most central to an understanding of the jail as an organization. In presenting this model, we are attempting both to set out what jails share in common and thus makes them distinct from other organizations such as prisons and mental hospitals, and also to specify some of the ways in which jails tend to differ from each other. In this section we will be primarily relying

on the data we received from the interviews with our eight primary respondents and on the less structured observations which were collected. Following that, in the next section the results of the interviews with the jail staffs will be presented and analyzed. A final section is devoted to the research and possible policy implications of our work.

To preserve the anonymity of the eight jails, a system of identifying them through letters of the alphabet is used. These letters were assigned such that Jail A is the jail which according to 1971 inmate population figures held the largest total number of inmates during that year, and Jail H is the jail with the smallest total for that year. Beyond that, it may be of interest that Jails A, B, C and G are located in counties whose populations were less than fifty percent rural, while Jails D, E, F, and H are in counties which are more than fifty percent rural.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The Statistics used for this purpose were obtained from the Illinois Department of Correction, '71 Annual Report: Bureau of Detention Standards and Services (State of Illinois, May 1972).

II

WHAT IS A JAIL?

Introduction

"Everyone knows what a jail is until one begins to inquire into its definition," Hans W. Mattick admonishes us.[1] For although the proper subject matter of the student of jails lies somewhere in that shadowy area between the state penitentiaries and the most rudimentary of police lockups, no generally accepted criteria exist for sorting out in the real world which facilities are jails and which are not.[2] As national and state surveys of jail conditions proliferate, this ambiguity becomes a matter for concern; surveys employing different definitions are not truly comparable.

For our purposes, this issue of what properly may be called a jail is non-problematic. Any county jail, regardless of its size or the rate of its occupancy falls, by virtue of its statutorily endowed mandate, within the set of organizations considered in this report. We can therefore afford to be somewhat more abstract in our delineation of what a jail is in seeking to develop a conceptual model explaining why jails are the way they are.

The most unique and far-reaching in implication of the attributes of a jail is that all jails exist within a local context, embedded in a web of interconnections to a specific locality. In contrast to other correctional institutions, a jail is involved with police, prosecutors, public defenders, judges, probation and parole officers, and the entire machinery of the criminal justice system of a particular locality. The ongoing interaction of these agencies with each other and with the jail

in a county, both in terms of formal and informal contacts, is of basic importance for understanding that county's jail.

From our viewpoint, what a jail is--what it does--primarily depends on the nature of the criminal justice system operating in that particular locality. This local context will be the starting point for our attempts to explain why any two jails resemble or differ from one another, or why a given jail changes over time. Such an approach does not insist that a jail is passive in its relationship to the environment. On the contrary, jails everywhere are involved in attempting to influence staff decisions made by the local criminal justice system, with varying success. Jail staffs themselves participate in the ongoing interaction.

The most immediate ramification of a jail's local context can be seen in the nature of its inmate population. What literature there is on the topic indicates that for county jails, the size of a county's general population is a poor predictor of even the number of inmates that will be present at any given time. A recent study of the Nebraska county jail system, for example, found that it does not necessarily follow that regions with the largest total population will be those with the largest numbers of inmates in their jails.[3] Instead, it is the practices and arrangements, both formal and informal, prevailing among the agencies comprising the local criminal justice system which establish who ends up in a county jail, how long they remain there, and consequently the size of the inmate population for any given period of time. In a planning study weighing the feasibility of a regional jail, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency warned that projections of the population growth of the region are not a valid basis

for estimating growth in inmate populations: " . . . jail populations are controlled more by statute and court practices than they are by population growth." [4]

The variable impact of local contexts on county jails is reflected in differences among inmate populations in three important respects: the reason the inmates are in the jail; how they eventually are released from custody (recognizance bond, bail, completed sentence, etc.); and the rate of turnover as shown in the average number of days spent by the inmates in the jail.

In developing a typology of jails, we would use these three criteria. As opposed to typologies such as the custody-treatment continuum developed by Street, Vinter, and Perrow to classify juvenile correctional institutions,[5] the use of inmate population data provides a typology based on the uses to which a jail is being put by its local criminal justice system.

The assumption underlying the Street, Vinter and Perrow approach is that what an organization is, what it does, and what its members do are all primarily functions of strategies developed by the individuals who occupy positions of formally delegated authority within the structure. Such an approach reflects a "management bias", one that omits from consideration a range of other influences on behavior. We feel that the operative goals of a correctional organization, those pursued on a day-to-day basis, and many of the variations in internal structure and behavior that have been assumed to be consequences of managerial definitions of organizational "mission", can be better understood by including variations in inmate population in the model, particularly in such cases where "management" is limited in its control over the

composition of the inmate population. Predicating a research strategy on the presumed existence of a "custodial" versus a "treatment" orientation, for example, leaves these questions unraised.

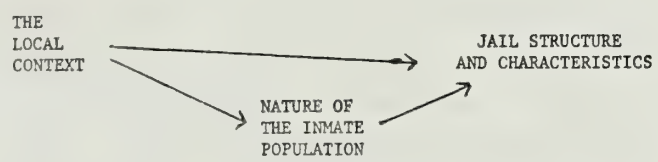
A second basic attribute of jails is the multiplicity of the functions with which they are charged. Jails serve as facilities both for detention and/or punishment of those brought before the local criminal justice system. As a place of detention, they are mandated to hold in confinement all those who seem to require much safekeeping in order to ensure their presence at a judicial or administrative proceeding. Additionally, jails are charged with "correcting" sentenced misdemeanants by confining them for the time period set down by a judge. The result is a heterogeneous and highly transitory inmate population.

Jails have also become the residual organization into which individuals presenting disturbing social problems are often shunted: "The poor, the sick, the morally deviant, and the merely unaesthetic, in addition to the truly criminal--all end in jail."[6] In this regard, one of the most important factors influencing the nature of the inmate population stems from what might be termed the ecology of penology. To the extent that there are other organizations within the locality designated to care for certain problem groups - alcoholics or the emotionally disturbed - for example, the jail's responsibility for these problem individuals can be reduced. Where such organizations are absent, it is the county jail in its catch-all capacity which most often must take up the slack. This will also be the case where an organization such as a private mental hospital is able to exercise selective intake and relegates those it chooses not to admit to the county jail.

While all county jails are marked by the multiplicity of the functions they perform, the relative emphasis placed on them can be seen to vary from jail to jail, depending, from our point of view, on the dictates of the local criminal justice system.

Basically, we are proposing a model of cause and effect relationships in which the local context of a jail by and large determines the inmate population confined in it. We suggested three basic features of inmate populations in jails which can be traced to the local context, features which in turn have substantial implications for how the jail itself is structured and for the behavior of both staff and inmates within the jail. The local context is seen as exerting both an indirect effect on the internal structure of a jail through its influence on the nature of the inmate population, and a direct effect through the level of support given the jail by agencies and individuals within the local context, the provision of information to the jail staff on inmates and the ability to intervene in the criminal justice process on behalf of inmates within the jail. Figure 1 presents this model schematically.

Figure 1



The arrows in Figure 1 are intended to indicate that the dominant trend is for the jail to be affected by the nature of, and changes in, the local context and inmate population rather than the reverse. Clearly,

a jail's characteristics can come to influence either of these, as is the case when the cell capacity of a jail constrains the ability of the local police and courts to hold people in confinement. On balance, however, it is part of the very nature of jails that they respond to outside pressures far more than they can initiate a change in the practices ongoing in the local context.

This model, which is intended only to provide a way of thinking about the local context of the jails, is useful here insofar as it aids us in doing two things:

1. Establishing the features of jails which make them distinct from other types of organizations.
2. Establishing those defining features and other aspects of jails which in their variability cause jails themselves to differ from one another.

In turning to the next variable in the model, that of the internal characteristics of jails, it is useful to begin with an effort to locate jails within the variety of different types of formal organizations. Jails belong to that class of organizations whose "raw material" consists not of steel and iron which is to be fashioned into automobiles, but of human beings. Where the raw material being worked on in an organization is other human beings, the raw material has a continual capacity to react on its own volition. In such organizations, frequently termed people-processing organizations, information on the likely reactions of that which is being processed becomes crucial. Further, in a jail, in contrast to, say, a steel plant, information on the capacities and tolerances of the raw material is of concern not only to the upper levels or the research arm of the organization, but to all employees. Jail officers must develop certain basic information on inmates, as well as categories which allow them to evaluate this information and translate it into a

judgement on the nature of a given individual and that individual's likely reaction to a given situation. This is crucial, both in the sense of providing a basis for predicting an individual's likely behavior and the result likely to ensue if a given set of individuals are placed together in one setting.

Jail security rests as much on the efficacy of such information as it does on physical barriers to escape. Security is not achieved simply by locking all inmates up. Even when this is done, there is always the sensitive problem of assigning cells to incoming inmates. And since most jails employ inmates to accomplish the bulk of the work involved in operating the jail, information must be available to guide this staff in the selection and use of inmates.

Over time, at least a minimal form of internal social order develops in every jail, allowing for a degree of stability of expectations for all concerned. This tends to establish a set of accommodations between the jailers and the jailed which, in normal circumstances, largely manages events within that particular jail. The basis for cooperation between these two groups is to a considerable extent the desire of each to achieve certain ends which could not be reached without the aid of the other group.

This stabilization is feasible even amidst the high transiency of jail population for several reasons. One is that a substantial number of inmates have been in the jail previously.[7] Further, these or other inmates experienced in the ways of correctional institutions, instruct the novices. More basically, if a hint from Daniel Glaser's classic study of the Federal Prison System is applied to jails, it can be seen

that the transiency of the inmate populations in jails is in part illusionary. Glaser notes that in doing research on recidivism, it is crucial to be aware that recidivists "accumulate in prison, so that they become higher as a percentage of men <u>in</u> the prison at any given time, than as a percentage of men <u>received</u> or <u>released</u> by the prison in a given period."[8] In terms of jails, this means that a "hard core" tends to accumulate in any county jail. Members' prior criminal records, the seriousness of current charges against them, and their length of stay in jail far exceed that of the total population flowing through the jail over, say, a normal six month period.

The existence of this "hard core" can be confirmed when the characteristics of the inmate population present on any given day are contrasted with those of all inmates processed through the jail over several months. The former group will be facing more serious charges, longer sentences, and higher bail than the latter; often the day's population is younger, poorer, more experienced in prisons and jails, and proportionately less white than the several months' total. It is this "hard core" which in most jails provides the social continuity necessary for the development of an internal social order.

The physical layout of jails is also influential in shaping the nature of what takes place within them. Both physically and socially, every jail divides into two basic areas. One is that formed out of the cell blocks, each constructed as a self-contained section invariably comprised of a row of cells facing into a large dayroom. As each section is equipped with all necessary plumbing and a slot through which food, towels, etc., may be passed, the necessity of routine movement of the inmates from the cell blocks is largely eliminated.

A second action space is found in the central area around which the cell blocks cluster, and which serves variously as offices for the staff, meeting and conference room, and reception area. In this area, which generally also includes the jail kitchen, the jail is connected to the outside world. Any situation in which inmates are present in that area necessarily implies a certain degree of predictability of his behavior. This situation imposed by jail architecture is a feature shared by all jails.

The most fundamental internal fact about any jail, and a basic way in which jails may be differentiated, is the means employed to bridge these two areas--the cell blocks and the central area. Within the jail, five basic types of communication are possible:

1. Within the central area: jail staff communicating with each other.
2. Within the cell blocks: inmates conversing with each other.
3. Within the cell blocks or with trusties in the central area: jail staff members communicating with inmates.
4. Communication between cell blocks: mainly through the trusties.
5. In the central area: information exchanged between jail staff or inmates and visiting officials from the local criminal justice system.

The varying emphasis placed on these modes of communication in each jail is crucial in understanding differences between jails. For example, in some jails, jail staff members rarely communicate with inmates in the cell blocks, with information flowing from central area to cell block predominately through the trusties.

The control over information in a jail is not purely an academic concern. Information can be converted into power, and becomes building blocks for the establishment of an internal social order. This is particularly true when the information possessed relates to an inmate's

current dealings with the local criminal justice system. Jails, to a far more pronounced degree than any other correctional organization, are intimately involved in the negotiation, intimidation, and other events by which local criminal justice systems operate. Moreover, most inmates are naturally deeply interested in the operations of that machinery, since their fate is being determined within it.

To the extent a jail is well integrated into its local criminal justice system, the jail staff has information from, and influence with, the various local officials. This is of considerable interest to the inmates. Also, inmates frequently possess information that is being sought by these officials. Therefore, to the extent jail officers become involved in the operations of the local machinery of justice, a further influence of the local context on a jail can be advanced.

It is worthwhile to pause and try to relate what we have said to the central question to be asked about jails: how have jails managed to survive so many decades with so little change in their basic form? To a degree unprecedented in any other organization, jails have retained their basic character, mainly due to the fact that jails are, except for times when some scandal briefly moves them into the public eye, invisible.[9] A low profile is usually maintained as long as the jail is integrated into the local criminal justice system. Currently, forces are operating that are modifying this situation in many counties; the results of these changes are evident in the descriptions of the various jails which follow.

What are the potential payoffs from such an extended definition of what a jail is? Hopefully, it puts some flesh on the statistical portraits that arise from jail surveys, permitting us to speculate

regarding sources of variability among jails. Once we are able to explain why a particular jail is the way it is, we can proceed to the level of prediction, following through to some future state the likely impact of policy decisions. In the following three sections we will elaborate on this definition, treating, in turn, the local context, the inmate population, and the organizational structure of jails.

The Local Criminal Justice System and the Jail

A number of questions were asked in each jail seeking to establish the nature and frequency of the contacts between the jail and the following local, state and federal criminal justice agencies: local police departments; the county's states attorneys office, public defender office, and parole and probation office; state police; the local office of the FBI and U. S. Bureau of Immigration; and judges presiding within the county. Even without these data, working on a purely impressionistic basis, the forces of change in local criminal justice systems were evident everywhere. The dual onslaught mounted by the inducement of federal and state dollars and the accompanying requirements could be seen to have far-reaching effects on even the most sparsely populated of the counties in our sample.

Most basically, the federal and state programs have acted to expand the sheer size of the system, increasing both the numbers of agencies and the individuals involved. Further, the degree of professionalization in these agencies has accelerated, bringing a different kind of employee into the system, as well as new ideas. When combined, the impact has been to shift the mode of interaction between members of a local criminal justice system to a more formal level, straining the friendly, informal cooperation which had traditionally prevailed and through which the bulk of the work was carried out. Supporting this trend is the fact that each component organization, be it the local police or the jail, increasingly has to answer to a growing number of supervisory agencies, both professional and governmental, from outside of the local context.

It is in this light that the more specific data now to be presented must be interpreted. This is both a time of change and of regrouping in local criminal justice systems. For several of the jails we studied, the result seems to have been a substantial loss of support for the jail from other agencies. Given that such support is crucial if a stable internal order is to be achieved in a jail, new arrangements must be cultivated.

Our questions inquired into several dimensions along which inter-organizational contacts in a local criminal justice system might be expected to vary. One of these is the means by which contact between the agency and the jail is achieved. These can range from written memos to telephone conversations to personal visits. A second aspect of the contacts is their scheduling: is contact typically on a regular, predictable basis, or is it on an "as needed" basis. In either case, a third dimension of interest is the frequency of the contact, and a fourth is the question of who predominately initiates it. Finally, we will be interested in the degree to which the contacts are informal, that is, the extent to which the contact rests on a personal relationship between an employee of the agency and one at the jail, whether or not that relationship derived from on-the-job contacts.

It is to be expected, given that we are dealing with a "system", that the nature of the contact between any one agency and the jail will be influenced by that of the remainder of the agencies and the jail. The relationship extant between the jail and the local judges is closely related to that of the jail and the local states attorney. On this basis, two polar types of local criminal justice systems can be described. In one, relationships are almost exclusively informal, as

best demonstrated in the frequent gatherings in the jail's kitchen for either lunch or coffee breaks of judges, prosecutors, FBI agents, and jailers. Such arrangements are currently becoming extremely rare. At the other extreme is the situation where contacts are rare, strictly formal and functional, and often with a substantial amount of friction. In such a situation, a jail has considerable difficulty preserving its low visibility. While our sample provides two cases which approach the second extreme, only in one instance was the first "type" approximated.

Using the above presented dimensions, along with the content of the communication as reported by each jail, we can reach some tentative conclusions on the nature of the jails' contact with each of the various criminal justice agencies. Then, we can proceed to examine the implications a jail's overall pattern of inter-organizational contact has for the ways in which a jail is operated.

Of all the local officials, judges and states attorneys have the greatest potential for enhancing a jailer's position relative to the inmates in his jail. For the most part, it is through judges that a jail in our sample was able to intervene on an inmate's behalf or on its own behalf; rarely were states attorneys so utilized. In all of the four largest jails it was reported that the chief jailer or his equivalent did take the initiative to contact, generally by telephone, a judge, to request some action favorable to a specific inmate. Such requests took two basic forms. Most frequently, judges were asked to help speed up the judicial process or to approve someone's release either through a recognizance bond or through a reduction in the cash bond required. Instances cited where such a request was deemed

appropriate included first time offenders on minor charges, those involved in family court, property offenders, and those not seen as "criminal" types.With somewhat less frequency, requests were also made directly to judges for a speed up or quick release on bond for inmates with difficult to manage health problems (e.g., epileptics), or with potential medical complications likely to be a financial burden to the jail in terms of hospital fees if they are not quickly released.

Only in one of the smaller jails was an analogous situation reported. In that case, Jail F, a new chief jailer was attempting to gain the ability to so influence the course of an inmate's processing through the court system, but with little cooperation from the local judges.

In three of the larger jails (Jails A, B, and C), information on specific inmates was also exchanged between the chief jailer and various judges. In Jails B and C, such contact was fairly regular and involved the desire of the judge to obtain information on the inmate's behavior while in the jail.

For the most part, contacts between a jail and local judges takes place through that individual with operational responsibility for running the jail. The absence of such an individual in Jails E, G and H may explain why those jails apparently had little, if any, direct contact with judges. Also, where present, such contact is generally by phone and does not necessarily stem from a personal familiarity between the chief jailer and the judge. Indeed, in the one instance where it was reported that judges visited a jail, in this case in search of free coffee, it was firmly stated that a judge was never asked to assist in facilitating an inmate's release.

With states attorneys, more frequent phone contacts were reported, but requests for intervention were rarely mentioned. The only real exception was in Jail E, which while offering judges free coffee, nevertheless depended on the sheriff speaking to the states attorney for intervention aimed at speeding up the judicial process.

With parole and probation officers a very different situation exists, with contact between such individuals and the jail predominately occurring through visits to the jail. While such visits are officially aimed at obtaining interviews with inmates, where the contacts are frequent and fairly regular, information on specific inmates is often exchanged between the jailers and the officers. Primarily, such communication depends on informal ties which develop over time. Only in Jail A, the largest jail in the sample, did such contacts seem particularly strong, and this was also the only case in which the contacts were regular. Though the data are not completely comparable, it appears that the order of frequency of visits by probation officers to the jail does not follow the order implied by jail size, but instead runs A C E F B D G H, with Jail A having the most frequent visits. In every case, probation officers were present in the jail far more often than were parole officers.

Public defenders in all eight counties visited the jail irregularly, in all but one instance responding to requests by an inmate or the dictates of the court schedule. In the one exception, the sole public defender would make a single weekly appearance and handle all of his clients at that time. Also, in one case, that of Jail H, the bulk of public defender-inmate conferences were carried out at the courthouse rather than at the jail. In none of the cases was there any indication

that such visits ever went beyond their formal purpose, though in one instance, that of Jail G, substantial friction was reported over the conditions under which the conferences were to take place.

The remaining organizations are all classifiable as law enforcement agencies. Employees of such agencies, of course, have contact with the jail when they bring newly arrested prisoners to it. In addition, the inmate is often present in the jail during the course of the continuing investigation of the alleged crimes, causing further visits by the police officer to the jail; and, additionally, information accumulated about the individual during his stay as an inmate may itself become useful in the investigation.

Only in two instances (Jails A and B) was it reported that the jail itself took an active role in investigations. In both instances, this involved the use of visitor lists, medical records, and phone calls to obtain information on possible accomplices or to track down sources on a person's life history. In all other instances, it was stressed that while interviews were conducted by various law enforcement agencies in the jail, the jail employees themselves did not become involved. It was clear, however, that law enforcement officers from all levels of government spent substantial amounts of time in the jails, often using the jail as a place to write reports or take a coffee break, as well as a necessary stop to bring in new inmates, take current inmates to court, or run a breathalyzer test.

Jail B appeared to be the jail most intimately involved in the ongoing activities of the local criminal justice system. To a considerable extent, this can be traced to the use of "court officers" whose regular assignment is to escort inmates from the jail to the

courtrooms. Through the court officers, Jail B's employees are plugged into the various aspects of the judicial process. While the progress of the court cases of the current inmates is a major topic of conversation among the staff in any jail, this seemed especially true in the case of Jail B.

Overall, it appears that our questions were less than successful in ferreting out the dynamics of interorganizational relationships in local criminal justice systems. The discussions we overheard and participated in often belied what we were told in direct response to questions on this topic. Since we remain convinced of the centrality of these relationships for any understanding of jails, alternative approaches are being developed. Possibly the most promising alternative method would employ available data in the form of county budgets to derive measures of the distribution of power in local criminal justice systems and to gauge the level of support enjoyed by a given jail in its local context and changes over time in that support.

Some observations can be made, however, based on the limited information set forth previously. For one thing, emphasis in the contacts between all eight jails and other components of the local criminal justice system centered upon inmates in the pre-sentence stage. In previous research conducted during 1970-1971 in two county jails comparable in size to Jails B and C, we found the emphasis markedly on inmates sentenced to the jails or sentenced to the state penitentiary and awaiting transportation there. If this does represent a trend of sorts, it probably can be traced to the changing distribution of the inmate populations in Illinois jails. The increase in release on recognizance programs has given jail staffs a new method for aiding

inmates, as well as some degree of control over who is in the inmate population. Formalization itself has at the same time tended to close certain contacts which jail officers in the past were able to utilize. Particularly notable in their absence in the present research were close relationships between the jail and the local probation and parole offices, a situation that came across very strongly in the earlier field work.

From the present study, we can conclude that support for the jail within its local context is minimal in two cases, those of Jail C and Jail F. Turnover rates in the inmate population are extraordinarily slow in these two jails, and both have of late run afoul of grand juries inspecting them. Both jails have recently become visible to a highly unwelcome degree.

In at least one county, changes in the state prison system have led to a renewed emphasis on keeping local problems within the community. In particular, this arose as a response to a growing reluctance to send local youths who are primarily white into state-run institutions increasingly dominated by blacks from Chicago. Plans are currently underway in that county to provide an alternative to which young men can be sentenced as work release prisoners rather than being sent to the state penitentiaries.

Contacts between the jail and the other criminal justice agencies take on particular importance when, over time personal friendship develops out of the formal contacts. The implications for such a system where information enters a correctional organization through informal sources was recently studied by Thomas Mathiesen through research in two Scandinavian prisons.[10] He concluded that external

friendships utilized by staff members to obtain the information necessary to carry out their work with inmates led to internal difficulties as information obtained in that manner was not readily shared. The result was that the staff members of each institution could communicate with any number of relevant workers in industry or other governmental agencies, but not with their fellow employees in their own organization. With jails, the smaller organizational size obviates most of the difficulties in terms of internal contact. It is true, however, that the bulk of the contacts between the jail and the outside world, especially the more important ones, depend on a relationship between two individuals. If either party leaves his position, the contact is pretty much lost completely for the jail. With increasing professionalization, this may change. Mathiesen's findings from prisons with highly professional staffs suggest that what might actually take place is that increasing professionalization will come to affect which outside officials have contact with which jail employees.

It is to be stressed that the relationships between jails and their local context reported here might be expected in any situation where we find an organization that is also rooted to a specific locality dealing with human beings as its "raw material". Such arrangements are the logical outcomes of contact between employees of the various locally based agencies, and while such a system can doubtlessly be abused, we had no indication that such was the case in the eight jails we examined.

Inmate Populations

To the extent that our model is valid, we would expect that the inmate populations of the eight jails would vary in a manner other than that which would be predicted on the basis of the size of the general populations of the eight counties. The data presented in Table 1 provide strong evidence that this is indeed the case.

Table 1

Rank of Inmate Population Measures by Jail

	Total[11] County Population 1970	Total[12] Inmates Booked 1971	Estimated Average[13] Daily # Inmates 1970	Average[12] Daily # Inmates 1971	Average[12] # Days In Jail/ Inmate
Jail A	3	1	3	1	8
Jail B	2	2	1	3	6
Jail C	1	3	2	2	2
Jail D	4	4	4	8	7
Jail E	5	5	5	5	5
Jail F	8	6	7	4	1
Jail G	7	7	8	6	3
Jail H	6	8	6	7	4

The first column at the left of the table gives the ranks of the eight counties in terms of their total population according to the 1970 Census, with Jail C being located in the county with the largest population. As one moves to the right across the columns, it is apparent that the various inmate population measures are relatively independent not only of the size of the county populations but also of each other. The only clear exception to this statement among the jails is in the

case of Jail E which maintains the identical rank on all five population variables.

Given the limitations inherent in a sample comprised of only eight cases, it is not possible to tie these eight inmate populations directly to specific determinants within the local contexts. Regression analysis, for example, would enable us to examine the extent to which the size and characteristics of a county jail's inmate population can be predicted on the basis of various characteristics of the local context if we had a larger number of cases. Such analyses will feature prominently in our future research efforts when the sample size can be increased. The relationship between local contexts and inmate population can then be systematically explored as well as that between local context and inmate population on the one hand, and the internal characteristics of jails on the other. Also, the relationship between rates of change of the variables on these three levels can be tested.

For present purposes, it is sufficient to state that the variability in inmate population measures across the eight jails appears to be far from completely explained by the size of the county in which the jail is located. Further, Jails C and F stand out in that their rankings for the average number of days spent in the jail per inmate is inconsistent with the patterns shown by the other jails. Jail C is the only one of the large jails to be among the highest four on that variable, while Jail F is the jail in the sample with the lowest rate of turnover. We might suspect that Jails C and F have similarities in their local contexts not found in the other jails. As will be argued in more detail later on, we would on this basis be inclined to treat Jails C and F as

belonging to a single class of jails if how they are utilized by their local criminal justice systems is used as the classificatory criterion.

At present, inmate populations in county jails vary with regard to the degree to which their members have previously spent time in that jail. Preliminary analysis of a random sample of bookings over a five year period in one of the eight county jails discussed here (Jail G) revealed that 48.6% of the bookings between January, 1968 and the Spring of 1973 were for persons booked more than once during that time period.[14] Once again, however, the extent to which such multiple confinements occur varies among jails.

It is useful at this point to consider recent trends which are influencing inmate populations in county jails. First, changes have occurred in the overall ecology of penology. One aspect of this ecology is the simple availability of alternative institutions. On the state-wide level, this includes the opening of new facilities for confining sentenced misdemeanants. On the level of the individual county, the most important similar relationship occurs with the closing or expansion of city jails within the county. The more important aspect of the ecology of penology, however, is the use to which these alternative institutions are put, both by the state agencies which run them and by the various local courts and prosecutors around the state. The most striking change in this regard is the increased reliance by the courts and state prison system on probation and parole as opposed to incarceration.[15] This has not been matched, however, by a concomitant investment of resources in the localities to accommodate those individuals who previously would have been sent to a state-run institution. The result is often an increased

burden on the county jails.

Even more dramatic has been the increased use in most localities of recognizance bonds and notices to appear. While this is an overall state-wide trend, the extent to which such means of release are used varies considerably from county to county. Our observations do suggest, however, that it is not necessarily the larger, more urbanized counties which use these release mechanisms most frequently.

Therefore, two contradictory trends appear to be operating. The increased use of non-monetary release and the advent of detoxification and half-way houses for drunks suggests higher turnover rates for the pre-trial segment of jail populations, especially for those charged with relatively minor offenses. On the other hand, the growing emphasis on probation, parole and work release suggests an increase in the proportion of inmates in jails who are awaiting some form of administrative action such as parole violation hearings or pre-sentence investigations. In this way, the county jail is slowly reacquiring the role of dealing with the more serious offender, a role which had long ago been relegated to the state penitentiaries. Along with this shift in the proportion of inmates in various legal status categories, we can expect changes in the background characteristics of those being held in local jails.

Equally contradictory are the implications of these two trends for the internal operations of county jails, as the two groups of inmates which are likely to be found in these organizations as a consequence require very different treatment by the staff if internal stability is to exist in the jail. To many jail officers and administrators

the influx of inmates with prior experience in state-run institutions and with felony backgrounds will not be unwelcome. This will be evident in Section III, where data are presented showing the preference on the part of a substantial number of jail staff members for dealing with such inmates. As part of the "hard core", such inmates are often known to the jail staff, are used to institutionalized life, and are therefore more predictable. Among the increasingly transient pre-trial group, this is not the case, and to achieve stability in the jail, ways of accommodating this group must also be developed.

The internal workings of a jail are greatly affected by the nature of the inmate population, particularly in terms of the proportion of inmates who fall within the various legal status categories. Where jails have a moderate rate of turnover in the pre-trial categories, the jail staff tends to concentrate the bulk of its attention on the "hard core". In the two largest jails we examined, the increasingly rapid turnover among pre-trial inmates has led to a new emphasis on that group, with the jail staffs becoming very much involved in the process by which non-monetary releases are secured.

While the respective rate of inmate turnover in the various legal statuses is one indicator of the role of a jail in its local criminal justice system, a potentially more powerful one would be a measure of the proportion of all inmates booked into the jail who leave the jail after having pled guilty. Such jails would most likely have a substantial "hard core" population and tend to be very much involved in the plea bargaining process. In this way, the nature of a jail's inmates tends to establish the major areas of concern of the inmates,

and the connections to the local context which the jail staff can use to both assist inmates and to use in arranging an internal social order.

The distribution of inmate ages in a jail can also be of importance. The trend in most counties appears to be one where jail inmates are becoming younger, with the 17-25 range accounting for an increasing proportion of the total inmate population. This is probably more true for the "hard core" than for the total inmate population. One response to this, one which was evident in several of the jails included in our study, has been to similarly decrease the age of the jail staff members who come into the most contact with the inmates.

In these ways, the internal characteristics of jails are influenced by the composition of the individuals confined. Eventually, we hope to be able to tie particular "types" of jails in terms of inmate populations to specific jail characteristics.

Jail Structure and Characteristics

1. Staffing Patterns

"Of all the essentials for the operation of a jail, none is more important than Personnel," the National Sheriff's Association has observed.[16] If jails are to ever become more than mere "storage bins for humans", the impetus will have to come in part from improvements in staffing patterns.

Table 2 presents the distribution of full time jail employees in each of the sample jails. Though some of the individuals included in this category do direct some of their efforts toward tasks not strictly subsumed under "jail work", such tasks are always ancillary to their main function.

Table 2

Distribution of Full-Time Jail Employees By Jail

	Jail A	Jail B	Jail C	Jail D	Jail E	Jail F	Jail G	Jail H
Supervisory	6	4	1	1	0	1	0	0
Correctional Officers	9	4	9	5	4	3	3	7
Matrons	4	4*	1	1	3	3	4	1
Deputies in Jail Work	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clerical	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	0
Nurses	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Cooks	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Radio Operators	-	-	-	0	3	0	0	0
Others	0	3**	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Full-Time Employees	26	21	13	11	12	9	8	9

*All matrons are sworn deputies.
**"Court officers".
- Sheriff's Department radio not located in the jail.

A correctional officer is defined as someone assigned on a permanent basis to the jail. For the most part, such individuals are sworn deputies who are working in the jail either as the role for which they were hired or as part of a cycle of job roles within the Sheriff's Department. The conflicting nature of "correctional" as opposed to "road" work, which has long been a concern to observers of jail conditions, is therefore not satisfactorily resolved by such arrangements, though the difficulties appear to be somewhat mitigated. The category of "deputy in jail work" in Table 2 contains individuals who are assigned to the jail on a temporary or rotated basis.

The total staff size of the jails is basically consistent with jail size, though there are two exceptions. While the number of jail employees is of interest, however, the crucial factor is the distribution of them among the various categories in terms of the development of specialized roles in the jail. In particular, such specialization asserts a major impact on the nature of inmate-staff contacts which pervade in any given jail. Two basic types of jails emerge in this regard. The two largest jails, Jails A and B, utilized correctional officers to maintain a more or less continual contact between themselves and the inmates. Their responsibilities were to handle inmate requests, supervise the trusties, and make the rounds of the cell blocks. In Jail B, the correctional officers were almost constantly within verbal and visual contact of the inmates within the cell blocks, while in Jail A, the contact was more periodic, though still frequent. While such specialization is, in part, a concomitant of jail size, this pattern ended abruptly with Jail B, and was no more evident in

Jails C or D than in Jails G or H. In Jails A and B, the result was that the correctional officers could devote their efforts to developing informal ties with the inmates, while the more formal aspects of running a jail, such as administering discipline and setting down rules, were relegated to the command staff.

A further dimension along which the jails can be differentiated is the means of recruitment of new jailers. Being a jailer has often been a career which is entered in middle age, following a career in some non-related area of endeavor. In all four larger jails, as well as in Jail F, this is changing. Younger jail officers are being recruited who have a desire to work in that field. In part, this trend may be a response to changes which have occurred of late in inmate populations in many jails: the average age of inmates is dropping at a substantial rate. If it is true that a jail officer can relate best to someone of his own age group, the addition of younger jailers aids in inmate-staff relations as well as providing employees physically more capable of controlling the younger inmates. Indeed, it was in Jails E and H that the post-middle aged staff bemoaned the passing of the local drunks from the jail, insisted that inmates could under no circumstances be trusted, and showed the least jailer-inmate contacts. Also, in both of these jails we were repeatedly told that the inmate population had markedly decreased in the average age of the inmates, primarily due to narcotics-related arrests.

In terms of part-time employees, only three of the jails reported any such workers. Both Jails F and G had one correctional officer who covered the full-time staff's days off and vacations. Jail D had two deputies used for much the same purpose. In addition, Jail G had three

matrons and Jail F a cook on part-time status. In the other five jails, the use of part-time jail officers and matrons was eliminated by establishing four shifts comprised of full-time staff. Only in Jail B, however, was this a well defined arrangement. In addition , a number of jails relied upon "on call" jail workers, primarily deputies who could, in an emergency, be diverted to jail work. Two of the smaller jails, E and H, relied fairly heavily on "road" deputies to cover for jail employees who were ill, or called deputies in to assist in booking inmates or any other situation when extra security might be desired. In Jail B, a back-up matron was available.

In Jails D and G, the jailers also assumed, at least for parts of the day, the duties of the radio dispatcher for the Sheriff's office. This tied the jailers to the central area, making active supervision of the inmates extremely difficult.

Given that, at least in two jails, jail officers were freed from other responsibilities sufficiently so that they could devote the bulk of their time to maintaining contact with the inmates, we can see the prototype of the correctional counselor who ultimately will replace the jailer. With a certain amount of motivation and some training, these correctional officers, working under the supervision of professionals, can carry out the majority of the rehabilitation programming in any jail.

At the present time, training is in its embryonic stages, with the existence of jailer training seminars by the Illinois Bureau of Detention just beginning to have an impact. Thus, aside from the law enforcement

training which they received as Sheriff's deputies, most jail officers have no special preparation for their jobs. The result is that each new jail officer learns from those who have worked for some length of time in the jail. The result of this type of socialization process is evident in Section III where staff perceptions are discussed. Each jail tends to have its distinctive views on, and methods of, jail work.

2. Inmate Supervision

The frequency of and the setting for inmate staff contacts is a crucial point at which jails differ from one another. Of particular interest is the inmate group with which the jail officers have the most pervasive contact. Traditionally, that group has been the trusties. Changing patterns of supervision, which tend to bring the staff increasingly into contact with the inmates in the cell blocks, however, may be acting to modify this.

The most basic contact between jail officers and inmates occurs while the officers are making their rounds. Replicating a question from the 1967-68 Illinois Jail Survey, we asked in each jail whether or not the inmates received active supervision during the day. Active supervision constitutes, "direct observation of inmates by a member of the jail staff at least once every half hour."[17] The response from both time periods is shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Extent of Daytime Supervision: 1967-68 and 1973

	Jail A		Jail B		Jail C		Jail D		Jail E		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	1967	1973	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73
Yes, Active Supervision		X		X		X						X				
Not Active Supervision	X		X		X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X

Four of the jails report a change in the extent of direct supervision of inmates. In two of the jails meeting the criterion for 1973, rounds occur on a regular basis, while in Jail B there is a continual presence of officers outside of the cell block. In Jail F, supervision is less regular, but the half-hour criterion is still met.

A further test of the jails' supervision patterns is found when the same question is asked in reference to the period between 6 PM and the following 6 AM. The answers to this question are shown in Table 4 below:

Table 4

Extent of Night Supervision: 1967-68 and 1973

	Jail A		Jail B		Jail C		Jail D		Jail E		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	1967	1973	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73
Yes, Active Supervision	X	X		X	X	X		X		X	X	X				
Not Active Supervision			X				X		X				X	X	X	X

It appears that supervision during the night was both more extensive in these eight jails in 1967-68 than the supervision taking place during the day, and is also more extensive currently. That supervision is generally more pervasive during the night than during the day may be explained both by the greater expectation of untoward events during the night, along with the reduction during the night hours in the number of tasks which tie the jail staff to the central area. This certainly appeared to be the case in Jail E.

On a speculative basis, we would argue that these trends represent a broadening of the range of contacts jailers have with inmates. In the past, contact between jail officers and non-trusty prisoners has been perfunctory and infrequent. The above data suggest that changes in supervision patterns have led to increased contact between staff and all inmates. So, along with the salutary outcome of increased supervision by jail staffs, we suspect a change in the internal social order of some of the jails has resulted as well. The greater the amount of contact, the greater the fund of information available to the jailers on the inmates. On balance, however, it is necessary for the jail officer to be somewhat circumspect in his use of such information. In Jail B, for example, we were told that the jail officers do not really "hear" all the information they accumulate, both in order to maintain rapport with the inmates and to avoid being set up with phoney information.

In general, the more extensive and intensive the contacts between staff members and inmates, the more information available to the staff for evaluating inmates, and hence the more refined differentiating among the inmates can become. On this basis, we would expect that Jails A, B, C and F will tend to be more like one another in their internal social orders than they would be similar to any of the other four jails, and vice versa.

It is also of considerable interest that the extent to which inmates are supervised is closely related to jail size, but not in the direction one might have anticipated: it was the two smallest jails which practiced the least supervision.

An additional factor to be considered derives from the advent of monitoring systems which can connect central areas to cell blocks without the necessity of personal contacts. At least some monitoring device was available in five of the eight jails, including all four of the larger ones. Only in Jail A, however, did we observe widespread use of these systems (in this case both two-way sound communication and closed-circuit TV), and even there the system did not replace or cut down in-person supervision. Instead, the system was primarily used to relay messages back and forth. In Jail B, which had a monitoring system equivalent to that present in Jail A, the system was generally used to survey movements in several isolated corridors rather than activities in the cell blocks.

Other aspects of supervision will be discussed under the topic of trusties and the distribution of privileges within a jail.

3. Information Processes

A crucial point at which information can be obtained on inmates is while they are being booked into the jail. At that point, it is necessary to reach a tentative evaluation on the inmate to be used for assigning him to a given cell block, and in some jails to a specific cell. The information elicited in the course of filling out the jail's records is one source, though on the basis of comments made by our respondents, such information is clearly limited in its utility.

Nevertheless, the first question to be asked about information processes in jails pertains to the steps involved in the intake process in each jail. Traditionally, booking procedures have been extremely lax in terms of to whom they were applied. Frequently, local people,

regardless of the charge which resulted in their being brought to the jail, were not fingerprinted. The comparison presented in Table 5 of intake practices in 1967-68 and such practices in 1973 indicates some mixed results in the direction of change, though generally the move was toward more thorough procedures. In the table, a "1" in a cell indicates that all incoming inmates are subjected to that step, a "0" that no inmates go through a step, and an "*" indicates that only certain inmates are put through it.

Table 5

Steps in Intake by Jail: 1967-68 and 1973

Intake Steps:	Jail A		Jail B		Jail C		Jail D		Jail E		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	1967	1973	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73
Stripped	1	1	*	0	*	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	*
Searched	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Deloused	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	*	0	0	*	0	0	0	*	*
Haircut	0	0	0	0	0	*	0	0	0	0	*	0	0	*	0	0
Finger-printed	1	*	*	*	1	1	*	*	*	1	*	*	1	1	*	1
Photo-graphed	1	*	*	*	1	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	*	1
Property Inventoried	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Medical Exam	0	1	*	*	0	*	*	0	0	0	0	*	0	0	*	0

Due to the variability shown in their use, four of these steps merit further discussion. Table 6 rearranges the data from Table 5 to show more clearly the distribution of these four steps at the two points in time.

Table 6

Distribution Among Jails of Intake Steps by Time Period

		Strip-Search	Fingerprinted	Photographed	Medical Exam
1967-68	All	3	3	3	0
	Some	2	5	5	3
	None	3	0	0	5
1973	All	5	4	3	1
	Some	1	4	5	3
	None	2	0	0	4

In terms of who is strip-searched on intake, two larger jails went from requiring this step for certain inmates in 1967-68 to dropping the step entirely by 1973. One of the small jails dropped in the incidence of use of this step, while the other three small jails went from not using strip-searches at all in 1967-68 to a partial use in 1973.

In case of fingerprinting and photographing incoming inmates, far less change was found than was anticipated. In 1973, there were still four cases where fingerprints were not obtained from every new inmate. In those instances, the following types of inmates were cited as being excluded:

Jail A "Drunks", traffic cases and civil cases. In the latter two groups, if the shift would change while they were still being held in the jail, then prints would be taken.

Jail B Family court cases

Jail D Minor traffic cases

Jail F People who had previously been booked into the jail

For the taking of photographs, Jails A, B and D were less than complete in their coverage, and were joined in this by Jails E and F.

In total, the four large jails underwent ten changes in the coverage of their intake process between the date on which the Illinois Jail Survey staff visited the jail and the time in the Spring of 1973 when we were at the jail. Of these, four changes led to a stricter intake process, while six changes tended toward less inclusive procedures. For the small jails, thirteen changes were found, of which nine were in the direction of greater strictness and four changes tended toward less strictness. Over time, a convergence in the mix of intake procedures is occurring, possibly due to the setting of State standards.

Only in one jail, Jail A, was a medical exam a routine part of the admission process, with the exam administered in the jail infirmary by physicians from a clinic under contract to the jail. In Jail B, we were told that the jail refused to admit inmates who appeared to be, or complained of being, ill. A doctor would have to certify that the inmate was well enough to be incarcerated before the jail would admit the inmate.

Though all eight jails regularly collect lengthy and detailed records during booking and receive the feedback from the submission of fingerprints to federal, state and local identification bureaus, and in many cases have a LEADS terminal at the jail, our observations indicate that such information is rarely used to evaluate incoming inmates. In part, this reflects the limitations inherent in such formal records. In any case, jail staff members at present seemed unable to translate that type of data into workable evaluations.

One factor lessening the importance of the formal booking process in information gathering is the extent to which the jailers are already familiar with the incoming inmate from either prior confinements in the jail or from contacts in the community. In six of the study jails,

we asked our primary respondent to estimate the percentage of all incoming inmates with which they were familiar from previous contacts. The following results were obtained:

Jail A	50%
Jail B	15-20%
Jail C	67-75%
Jail D	90%
Jail E	60-70%
Jail H	25-30%

To the extent that these are valid estimates, it appears that incoming inmates are no strangers to the jail staff, although jails vary considerably in this regard. The estimates we obtained do, however, reflect the respondent's tenure within the jail and his position in the organization, and are, therefore, only very crude measures of the familiarity with inmates on the part of the total jail staff.

A second question was asked in five of the jails on the usefulness of this prior contact in terms of making decisions on how to treat a specific inmate. Table 7 presents three possible uses for this information, with a plus indicating that the respondent found the information useful for that purpose, and a minus sign indicating that he did not.

Table 7

Uses of Prior Familiarity with Inmates

	Jail A	Jail B	Jail C	Jail D	Jail H
Cell Assignments	-	+	-	+	-
Choosing Trusties	+	+	+	+	-
Predicting Troublemakers	+	+	+	+	+

While the extent to which a jail's staff is already familiar with incoming inmates is a feature which varies considerably across jails, as a general characteristic of these organizations, it is also a basic difference between the situation of a jail officer and that of a prison guard. While a prison guard generally must accept a new arrival as an unknown, he then has a long period of time to "size up" the prisoner. A jail officer, on the other hand, is confronted in many instances with a known quantity who has been evaluated over the course of a number of relatively short stays in the jail or through encounters on the streets.

In those instances where a new inmate is a complete unknown to the jail staff, a sizing-up process takes place in which the jail officers seek to uncover the characteristics and likely reactions of the new arrival. Equally true, of course, is the fact that the inmate is sizing up the jail staff. Several mechanisms in this process emerged from our interviews. The intake process is closely watched to get a fix on the likely behavior of the individual. The extent of his cooperation with the booking officer, and the inmate's attitude were cited as useful signs. In several instances it was stressed that a period of several days of observation while the inmate is in the cell block is crucial if the evaluation reached is to be reliable. In three jails (D, F and G) the arresting officer was specifically mentioned as a source of information. In Jail D, the staff claimed to rely first on the feedback from the LEADS system, and if that was not enlightening, then observation and the arresting officer were consulted. That was the only instance in which LEADS was mentioned as at all useful in making decisions on probable inmate behavior while in the jail.

In following up some previously discussed themes, it appeared that in Jail H the recent influx of younger inmates has caused the difficulties

it has, in part, because the jail officers are simply unable to evaluate these inmates. Similarly, the less active supervision there is, the greater the difficulty in reaching a workable evaluation. In sections that follow, the topic of information as the basis for evaluating and, hence, differentiating inmates will be returned to in terms of specific areas in which such judgments must be made and depended upon.

4. Segregation of Inmates

Every jail seeks to divide up its inmate population into groups able to live together, but the limitations inherent in the physical layout of the jail often severely cripple such efforts. A balance is necessary within each cell block that is homogeneous in terms of some important characteristics. To test which groupings were being segregated, a list of ten possible segregation practices was given to the primary respondent in each jail. Their responses as to which of these practices were currently being followed in their jail are presented in Table 8. Unfortunately, Jail C cannot be included in this analysis.

The table indicates that the bases for segregation of inmates are highly variable between jails, the only group of inmates segregated in all seven jails being drunks. Withdrawing addicts were kept together in four jails. In the three instances where they were not so segregated, it was claimed that such people cannot be counted on to be capable of caring for one another. In contrast, in Jail E, we were told that all narcotics cases should be placed together as they know how to take care of each other. Other categories were notable chiefly in the number of jails that did not divide inmates along such basic lines as felon-misdemeanant and sentenced to the jail-not sentenced to the jail.

Table 8

Segregation Practices By Jail

	Jail A	Jail B	Jail D	Jail E	Jail F	Jail G	Jail H
Sentenced From Unsentenced	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Felons From Misdemeanants	+	+	-	/	-	-	-
State & Federal Charges From Local Charges	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
Drunken/Excited Inmates From All Others	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Withdrawing Addicts From All Others	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
Known Homosexuals From All Others	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
Co-Defendants From Each Other	+	/	+	-	-	+	/
Material Witnesses From Others	+	/	+	0	+	+	/
Civil Cases From Others	+	/	-	-	-	-	-
Mentally Ill And Others	+	+	/	0	+	+	/

+ = are segregated

- = not segregated

/ = sometimes segregated

0 = not held in this jail

In three jails (C, E and F) age was mentioned in the interviews as the primary basis for dividing up the inmates. In addition, Jail E reported that during the intake process the jailers would try and get an idea of who the inmate will get along with and who he will not. Age was, however, the primary criterion, with the distinction between misdemeanant and felon cases being the second factor. In Jail F, the second factor after age was considered was whether or not the inmate had previously committed a violent offense.

To an extent, segregation practices reflect the limitations imposed by a jail's architecture. In addition, such practices represent the strategy used to maintain order within the jail. On this basis, in jails such as Jail H, the basic method for achieving stability would appear to be simply dividing all inmates into one or two basic groups, giving each a cell block, and hoping that the inmates work out their own arrangements. Age appears to be one criterion for making such a separation. Jails D, E, G and F (and on an impressionistic basis, Jail C) present a variation on this scheme in that they tend to separate out certain categories of individuals with medical or emotional problems from the other inmates, but still attempt to maintain two or three major groups of inmates other than these special cases, often on the basis of age. Only in Jails A and B were efforts made to make other kinds of divisions among the inmates, doubtlessly in part because they had the space to do so. Size was not the sole determinant, however, as several of the other jails had the capacity for further subdividing the inmate population, but chose not to. Segregation patterns, when combined with the use of trusties in a jail and the distribution of

privileges among the inmates by staff members, provide a good picture of the prevailing strategy being followed in running that jail.

5. Trusties

Trusties present numerous anomalies to an observer of jails. The latitude which they are granted is often in marked contrast to the overall insistence on security in a jail, and, further, the differences in the trusty system in jails, otherwise sufficiently similar to be almost duplicates, is remarkable. In our study, Jails G and H are nearly twins in terms of age, size and physical layout. Yet in Jail G the trusties not only have near complete freedom of movement within the jail, but also are allowed to enter and leave the jail, often through a rear screen door, to work unsupervised in the courthouse or the jail grounds, and are sent on errands to make purchases for the jail and for the jail staff. In Jail H, trusties were only reluctantly and cautiously used, and in no circumstances would be left unsupervised.

Similar differences were observed among other jails in the sample. Basic variables such as jail size proved to be poor predictors as to which jails would have similar trusty systems. Jail B, like Jail G, permits some of its trusties to move unescorted outside of the jail, as to a lesser extent does Jail D. Jail A, which generally has nine trusties at any given time, keeps its trusties under almost constant supervision, delegating two jail officers on the day shift to the task of escorting the trusties as they do their work.

Three questions need to be asked about trusties:

1. How are trusties selected?
2. Who are the trusties in terms of basic characteristics such as age and charge responsible for their presence in the jail?

3. How are trusties used: what work do they do and under what conditions, and what do they get in return.

In all of the jails, the topic of who becomes a trusty is a very serious one. The final decision generally rests with the sheriff or the chief jailer. Other staff members make recommendations, with these often themselves being a reaction to an inmate's request. This subject is of sufficient importance to merit a summary of the methods and criteria involved in trusty selection for each jail.

Jail A: The Jail Superintendent relies on the charge that got the person into jail, his past history, and the amount of time he must spend in jail. Emphasis is on sentenced inmates, with strict prohibitions on the use of inmates charged with murder, assault on a police officer, rape, any sex offense, arson, or those being held for some other agency or unit of government. The superintendent makes his choice from names suggested by the shift commanders, relying heavily on past experience with an inmate and observation of his behavior.

Jail B: Stress was placed on inmates in for short sentences; those in for long periods tend to get restless. The procedure is to lock the inmate up for a few days with an intention of teaching him a lesson and also making him appreciate even more the greater freedom involved in being a trusty. Physical appearance and cleanliness were cited by the jail superintendent who has the final decision. At times, requests were made by an inmate's lawyer or the states attorney's office that a particular inmate be made a trusty. Such efforts are generally resisted.

Jail C: Appearance and charge were cited here as being the chief criteria, with a preference for sentenced misdemeanants.

Jail D: Only sentenced inmates are considered, with the sheriff making the decision. The sheriff may talk to the inmate being considered, considering his character and offense, along with consulting with the arresting officer and other law enforcement personnel who might know the inmate. If corroborative information is not available on the inmate's background, he is not used. At times, trusties would be actively recruited, with the sheriff requesting a judge to sentence a particular inmate to the county jail rather than to a state institution.

Jail E: In those instances where this jail uses trusties, requests from the inmate are filtered through previous contact with the inmate, observation, and his criminal history, with an emphasis on the first two. Only sentenced inmates are considered by the sheriff, who makes all the selections.

Jail F: The chief jailer decided on the basis of the following: charge, conduct in the jail, as judged by at least one week's observation, neatness, cooperation and a recommendation by a jail officer. The entire process is set in motion by an inmate's request.

Jail H: Sheriff selects, with the advice of the jail officers, on the basis of "character" and cleanliness as determined by talking with the inmate, observation, and seeking information from at least one person in the sheriff's department who knows the inmate.

The result of these various processes can be measured from the list presented in Table 9 based on data collected in each jail on one of the days we visited. Jails E and H were without trusties on all of the days we visited, and thus we have no data for them, while Jail C declined to provide the information.

In the larger jails, it is necessary to have a certain proportion of the trusties with rather extensive backgrounds in penitentiaries and jails. Only such individuals can provide the leadership and organization that can permit the trusties to do the bulk of the work involved in running and maintaining the jail.

In terms of the degree of trust and freedom which accompanies the trusty status, the jails seem to fall in three groups. Jails A, C, and F are cautious and maintain close supervision, but do provide enough freedom to serve as an incentive to become a trusty. In Jail A, the rules governing trusties state that a trusty "is an inmate who requires less supervision than other inmates ... the individual has been screened and evaluated as a person who is easy to supervise, dependable under minimum supervision, will probably not escape and will not cause serious discipline problems." Similarly, a trusty in Jail F was defined as someone able to work within the jail without direct supervision.

Table 9

Trusty Data By Jail

Age	Race	Charge	Why in Jail
JAIL A			
1. 21		Unlawful Delivery Controlled Substance	
2. 26		Bank Robbery	
3. 25		Burglary	
4. 27		Attempted Burglary	
5. 30		Theft	
6. 36		Possession of Heroin	
7. 17		Burglary	
8. 31		Theft	
9. 27		Robbery	
JAIL B			
1. 62	Black	Revoked Drivers License	Sentenced to Co. Jail
2. 18	White	Burglary	Sentenced to Co. Jail
3. 20	White	Attempted Burglary	Sentenced to Co. Jail
4. 20	White	Theft	Sentenced to Co. Jail
5. 24	White	Criminal Damage to Property	Sentenced to Co. Jail
JAIL D			
1. 19	White	Trespass to a Motor Vehicle	Sentenced to Co. Jail
JAIL E			
None			
JAIL F			
1. 17	White	Theft	Awaiting Trial
2. 36	Black	Probation Revoked	Sentenced to Co. Jail
JAIL G			
1. 17	White	Probation Violation	Custody of Sheriff
JAIL H			
None			

In contrast, Jails B, D and G permitted trusties far more leeway, while Jails E and H had a strong aversion to trusties. The dividing line between the first two groups lies with access to an open door. In total, the jails can be ranked in this order in terms of the amount of "trust" granted trusties, with amount of trust diminishing as we move to the right: G B D C A F H E.

6. Distribution of Trust and Favor Among Inmates

While primarily referring to the trusties, other inmates do become involved in situations where they must be trusted and/or receive privileges from the staff. The basis for the distribution of trust and favor is an exchange between staff and inmates, with each receiving desired outcomes. It is sensible to begin with an examination of what work is done by the inmates as part of their contribution to the exchange. Table 10 provides, for the two points in time, a picture of which inmates do work in the jail. In 1973, there were three jails, including the two largest ones, which used inmates other than trusties to do work.

Table 10

Which Inmates Work: 1967-68 and 1973

	A		B		C		D		E		F		G		H	
	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73
Trusties Only					*	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		
Trusties & Other Inmates	X	X	*	X											*	X
No One									*							

*Information not available.

The importance of inmate labor is indicated in the next table, Table 11. In 1967, four of the jails depended solely on inmate labor to keep the jail clean, while the remaining four utilized such labor for at least part of the jail. By 1973, five jails were solely dependent on inmates for jail cleaning, while three got part of the jail cleaning accomplished in this way. In neither time period was there a single jail which did not depend on inmates for this purpose.

Table 11

Are Inmates Responsible for Jail Cleaning
1967-68 and 1973

	Jail A		Jail B		Jail C		Jail D		Jail E		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H*	
	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73
Yes, Solely	X	X	X	X			X	X		X				X	X	
Yes, Part of Jail					X	X			X		X	X	X			X
No																

A more refined picture of the situation is provided when we examine the specific types of work which inmates are responsible for in each jail. In Table 12 we can examine both the nature of the work that is done in each jail, and the actual number of different tasks performed. The size of a jail does not appear to be a strong influence on the nature of the work inmates are involved in. In terms of dependence of a jail on its inmates, kitchen work, cleaning, painting, and laundry work are important. Other activities, such as car washing and message carrying are far less crucial, but demand a far greater degree of trust if they are to be carried out.

Table 12

Work Done By Inmates: 1967-68 and 1973

	Jail A		Jail B		Jail C		Jail D		Jail E		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73
Kitchen Work	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	
Car Washing			X				X	X			X		X		X	
Message Carrying				X									X			
Yard Work		X	X					X			X		X	X	X	
Clerical													X			
Technical Maintenance				X		X						X	X		X	
Jail Cleaning	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Work at Courthouse				X									X			
Painting	X	X			X						X			X		
Laundry		X														
Total # of Tasks	3	5	4	5	3	3	3	4	2	1	4	2	8	4	5	1

Each jail is dependent on its inmates in its own manner, in terms of what work is done by them, and the importance of that work in terms of financial savings. Matching this effort by the inmates must be a set of trust and privileges available to them such that some approximation of a balance is achieved. Replying to the question, "do any inmates receive special privileges?", all of the jails except for Jail E responded in the affirmative for both the 1967-68 and the 1973 period. Jail E had responded in 1967-68 that it granted no privileges since there were no trusties at the jail, while in the more recent study, the reply was simply that they did not. For the seven jails that did distribute special treatment, Table 13 summarizes what these consisted of:

Table 13

Privileges Granted Certain Inmates 1967-68 and 1973

	Jail A		Jail B		Jail C		Jail D		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73	'67	'73
Freedom of Movement	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Extra Food or Visitors	X	X	X	X				X			X	X	X	
Special Living Quarters		X		X	X	X	X	X				X		
Radio/TV	X		X				X			X				
Total # of Privileges	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	1	2	2	3	1	0

For the most part, these are privileges granted to the trusties. Since 1968, television and radios have been granted to all inmates in most jails, and have thus become a discipline method, to be taken away for misbehavior, not a privilege for the few. With the exception of Jail H, the jails make it well worthwhile to be a trusty, though each of these privileges takes on meaning only within the context of the relative condition of other inmates. Thus in Jail A, though the freedom of movement offered is limited compared to the other jails, it is all that is available.

For the inmates in the cell blocks, privileges tend to center around use of the telephone. In most instances, this immediately brings into play the question of trust. With one exception (Jail H) the use of the telephone requires that the inmate be allowed into the central area, or at least out of the cell block. It is at this level which the individual jail officer has his most immediate power to reward certain inmates. Questions of who shall be made a trusty are largely settled at the level of command personnel. At his convenience, however, the officer can allow inmates to make phone calls. Given the nature of a jail confinement, the telephone is an effective way in which a jail officer can inconvenience himself slightly, while at the same time provide an inmate with access to a very highly desired privilege.

In return for privileges which generally involve improving their living conditions, inmates perform the bulk of the work involved in operating and maintaining many jails and aid the staff in establishing order among the other inmates. Both the privileges and the work inherently involved a degree of trust between staff members and inmates. These are the elements of a balance which obtains in any given

jail, and are also tied to the type of segregation of inmates practiced in the jail. Jails E and H evinced the least latitude granted trusties, practiced minimal division of inmates, and provided few privileges to any of the inmates. Jail F and Jail C, on the other hand, both gave moderate amounts of "trust" to the trusties, and were also in the middle range in terms of the number of types of work inmates did in the jail and the number of privileges they received. Jails A, B, D and G all permitted some inmates to receive three out of the four categories of privileges, and used inmates to perform respectively five, five, four and four of the job types. These jails differed considerably, however, as to the degree of latitude granted their trusties, and in the extent to which they subdivided their inmate populations.

In this way, we can view Jails E and H as comprising a sub-group of the eight jails in terms of their internal characteristics, and Jails C and F a second such sub-group. Also, Jails E and H were previously described as having both experienced, of late, a reduction in the average age of their inmates, particularly in the form of those confined due to drug-related offenses. Jails C and F were characterized as having comparable patterns in the flow of inmates through the jail.

Of the four remaining jails, supervision patterns in Jails A and B preclude the establishment of the trusties in a middleman position between the jail staff and the inmates in the cell blocks. In Jails D and G it did appear that the trusties were the principal source of communication between the central area and the cell blocks. Jails A and B are differentiated, however, by a general trend applicable to all eight jails: the greater the freedom of movement granted the trusties, the greater the emphasis placed on them by the staff in

conversations and assistance as opposed to all other inmates held in the jail.

These various components of a jail's internal characteristics can generally be seen to exist in some form of negotiated balance. A given level of trust will tend to have a corresponding level of privileges offered inmates, and to be adjusted according to the nature of and extent of the work done by the inmates in the jail. If a balance is not present, then we might expect a very unstable situation in which neither the inmates nor the jailers can have firm expectations on what members of the other group will do.

7. Administering Discipline

The methods used to discipline inmates is another aspect of jail operations that exhibits considerable variability both among the eight jails and over time. In each jail, we replicated a series of questions used in the Illinois Jail Survey asking which of nine possible methods of discipline were presently used in the jail. Table 14 presents the results from both times the questions were administered. A plus indicates the method was being used, a minus that it was not. Adjacent cells that are shaded indicate that a change took place between the two times in whether or not the method was used in a particular jail.

In 1973, the most common form of discipline was solitary confinement, a method used in all eight of the jails. The next most frequently reported method was to forbid visits, used in seven of the jails, while both taking away radio or TV privileges and reporting conduct to a judge were present in five of the jails. In 1967-68, three methods tied as most popular, with each being used in seven jails. These were: forbidding

Table 14

Distribution of Discipline Methods By Jail: 1967—68 and 1973

	JAIL A		JAIL B		JAIL C		JAIL D		JAIL E		JAIL F		JAIL G		JAIL H	
	1967	1973	1967	1973	1967	1973	1967	1973	1967	1973	1967	1973	1967	1973	1967	1973
Forbid TV & Radio	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
Forbid Visits	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
Forbid Mail	+	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Reduce Food	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	—
Add Work	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Solitary	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Remove Good Time	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	—	—	—	+	—	—
Report to Judge	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	—	+	+	—	—
Corporal Punishment	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total # of Methods	8	5	3	3	5	4	2	4	4	5	4	1	5	5	4	3

visits, solitary confinement, and reporting conduct to a judge. The practice of holding up an inmate's mail as punishment increased from its use in one jail in 1967-68 to four instances of this by 1973. On the other hand, some of the more Draconian methods of imposing discipline declined sharply in their use. By 1973, the three jails which had reduced food as a punishment had ceased to do so, as had the one jail which admitted in 1967-68 to using corporal punishment.

When the larger jails are compared to the four smaller jails, some interesting differences can be seen. Table 15 uses the 1973 data to do this.

Table 15

Methods of Discipline By Jail Size

	Large Jails	Small Jails
Forbid Radio-TV	2	3
Forbid Visits	4	3
Hold Mail	4	0
Reduce Food	0	0
Work Added	0	0
Solitary	4	4
Good Time Removed	2	2
Judge Told	3	2
Corporal Punishment	0	0

The most striking difference is with regard to the use of holding up mail. All four large jails do so, while none of the small jails do. It is also of interest that judges were told of an inmate's misdeeds in

three of the large jails and also in two of the small jails. Apparently size does not preclude such contacts, as was also pointed out in the section on the local context. Between 1967-68 and 1973 two jails, C and F lost the use of reporting an inmate to a local judge. It was these two jails which appeared to have lost the support of the local criminal justice system in recent years, and it was also these jails which had daily populations far exceeding what would be expected given the counties they serve as well as very slow turnover rates. The only jail never to have used such a reporting procedure is Jail H which as was previously discussed appeared quite isolated from its local context.

8. Formalization

Formalization represents the extent to which procedures specify in advance what the response is to be to a given occurrence. In jails, this is important particularly in regard to the means by which decisions on discipline are reached and to the process by which inmate complaints are handled.

Using a question from the Illinois Jail Survey, it was determined that in 1973 Jails B, C and F used a formal procedure to respond to all breaches in discipline. In Jail D, this was true for certain types of behavior. Jails A, E, G and H did not have any formal procedures for imposing discipline. Jail size appears to be of some influence here, with three of the small jails and only one of the large jails not having any formal system.

A similar situation was found with the more specific question of whether when a rule is broken the punishment goes with the behavior, that is, punishment set by procedures, or whether the punishment administered

is varied with the individual. Jails B, C, D and H all claimed in 1973 to vary punishment to fit the specific behavior. In Jails A, E, F, and G, the opposite situation existed and punishment was adjusted to the individual malefactor. Here the same pattern of three large jails being in the formalized situation and only one small jail doing so is repeated. Once again, the non-conforming large jail is Jail A, the largest jail in the study, but this time it is Jail H, not F, which is the most formalized of the smaller jails. Size does seem to be associated with more formalized discipline procedures, but apparently is not a "sufficient" condition for that to occur.

When it comes to the handling of inmate complaints, the patterns are somewhat clearer. In response to a question asking if an established procedure exists for handling prisoner complaints, every jail with the exception of Jail G answered affirmatively. When pressed for more details on the nature of the process used to respond to complaints, it was found that in all four small jails, complaints from inmates were verbal, with the jail staff simply responding to specific complaints. This was not the case in any of the large jails. Of these, two jails (A and D) reported that both inmate complaints were responded to when tendered and the administration actively sought out complaints. The most formal process is that shown by Jails B and C where the inmate would put his complaint in writing and then receive a response from the jail administration.

For smaller jails, it appears that the established procedure is simply to wait until a verbal complaint is made, with the procedure

referring only to who on the staff makes the response. In two of the larger jails, the only difference is that the complaint is put in writing. That difference is probably simply a function of organizational size. In contrast to both of those groups is the situation in Jails A and D where the administration actively sought out complaints.

The data we have presented on formalization in jails speaks to some important issues in terms of organization theory itself. Traditionally, it has been held that organization size and the degree of formalization are inexorably linked--the larger the size of an organization, the greater the extent to which procedures are specified in advance. Recently, this position has been increasingly attacked as being overly simplistic. Richard Hall and others have argued that the nature of the work done in an organization, its technology, mediates between the impact of size on formalization:

"If the technology involves a rather routine product or service, formalization and complexity would tend to increase with increased size. If, on the other hand, the technology is built around non-standard products and services, the relationship will not hold."[18]

Jails appear to fit within that class of organizations for which size and formalization are not necessarily intertwined. The data presented earlier on the steps present in the intake processes of the eight jails also tends to support this conclusion.

9. Rehabilitation Efforts and Medical Care

Daniel Glaser's characterization of jails as mere "storage bins for humans" remains apt when the extent of formal rehabilitation efforts in the eight jails is considered.[19] Only in two of the jails

were any such programs found to be ongoing at the time of our visits. In Jail B, a pre-release vocational counseling program was being run by a state agency. Previously, a series of low-key group therapy sessions led by local clergymen and a psychologist had been discontinued when it was felt that the meetings had deteriorated into non-productive "bitching" sessions. Jail E had a vocational training program aimed at inmates serving relatively long sentences in the jail, which was run in cooperation with a local vocational school. In addition, limited Alcoholics Anonymous and educational programs were available in that jail. Once again, prediction of variability in jail characteristics was problematic.

For the most part, it appears that programs such as those just discussed tend to be fortuitous in their inception. By chance, a jail staff member comes in contact with an individual from a community group, and some cooperative effort results. The library programs in Jails A, B and E originated in this way. In Jail A, for example, the result is that a city library not only provides a rotating set of books for the library in the jail, but twice weekly a library staff member goes to the jail to distribute the books. The situation appears to be one where though neither group will actively seek out the other, both jail staffs and community organizations are open to opportunities where they can cooperate.

Additionally, it was evident that on an informal basis many jail officers and administrators were active in trying to help individual inmates on a one-to-one basis. This ranged from simply talking with the inmate to looking for a job for him upon his release. While the

staff members involved might heatedly deny it, such efforts in effect place the jail officer in the role of a "counselor", a role made possible primarily through the officer's contacts with members of other criminal justice and community organizations.

What is crucial about these informal efforts on the part of jail staff is that they are based on primary as opposed to secondary relationships, both in terms of the staff members' contacts with the inmates and with the outside agencies. Primary relations are marked by an involvement of the whole person, rather than, say, that part of him which is a jailer; the communication involved is wide-ranging in what it covers; and people participate in such relationships because they want to, because the relationship in itself is satisfying to them.[20] As such, primary relationships allow for a situation of familiarity and mutual trust and respect to develop in contrast to secondary relationships where interaction is based almost exclusively on the formal roles the actors occupy. In prisons, the opportunities for primary relationships between staff members and representatives of outside agencies are generally infrequent. Jails, existing in a local context, provide a setting which facilitates such contacts to a greater extent. Moreover, in prisons, a specialized "treatment" staff is generally defined as being that staff group which is responsible for rehabilitation efforts, though it is the custodial staff which has the most pervasive contact with the inmates and hence the greatest opportunity for establishing primary contacts. The antagonisms inherent in the roles of prison guard and prison inmate may largely obviate the possibilities for such contacts to develop. In any case, jails at least have a potential for

encouraging primary relationships, relationships which can enhance the rehabilitative potential inherent in the setting.

More encouraging was the fact that work release programs were being operated from all eight jails examined. Staff members generally expressed support for the concept of work release, but conflicts were apparent in terms of the aspects of the program which involved the jail. Basically, the sentiment was that the jails were being asked to assume considerable responsibility in housing the work release program as well as a good deal of extra work, but were not given the authority necessary to really administer those responsibilities. In most of the jails, the chief jailer or sheriff was empowered to suspend an inmate from the program for a limited number of days, but the legitimacy and the appealability of such decisions were nowhere clearly established. In addition, there was often considerable dissatisfaction expressed on the choices which the local judges had made on who was given work release status.

In the provision of medical care, a somewhat parallel situation can be found in the eight jails. Only in Jail F was it evident that medical care was obtained by crisis, with an accident or illness creating a search for the required medical services. In six of the remaining jails, greater stability had been achieved as contacts with various medical agencies eventually led to informal arrangements with particular hospitals, clinics and physicians that assures the availability and some continuity of medical services. This is a step above both crisis search and reliance on a county physician, as it comes close to providing the range of skills and services that are required. While this is encouraging, it still remains doubtful that this capacity

will be brought to bear when necessary, as the initial medical exam to decide what ought to be done must, except in the most grievous of emergencies, await the convenience of the doctors.

In one case, that of Jail A, a contractual agreement between the jail and a hospital clinic provides for a set monthly fee the bulk of the inmates' medical care, which includes the clinic's staff holding sick call in the jail infirmary twice weekly.[21]

Like rehabilitation programs, these arrangements for medical services tend to stem either from chance contacts or from informal relationships which develop over time. Similar methods of obtaining psychiatric services were found in most of the jails.

In sum, neither characteristics of jails nor of their local contexts appeared to be related to the presence or nature of rehabilitation efforts and medical care. On the basis of our observations it appears that such efforts are more a function of idiosyncratic and particularistic contacts than they are of systematic and predictable combinations of structure and/or context.

FOOTNOTES

1 Hans W. Mattick and Ronald Sweet, Illinois Jails: Challenge and Opportunity for the 1970's (Chicago: Center for Studies in Criminal Justice, The University of Chicago, 1969), p. 327.

2 For a full discussion see, Hans W. Mattick, "The Contemporary Jails of the United States: An Unknown and Neglected Area of Justice," forthcoming in Handbook of Criminality, ed. Daniel Glaser, (Chicago: Rand McNally), pp. 1-6 (draft).

3 Nebraska Department of Economic Development, For Better or Worse? Nebraska's Misdemeanant Correctional System, (Nebraska Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1970), pp. 97-105.

4 National Council on Crime and Delinquency, A Regional Approach to Jail Improvement in South Mississippi: A Plan Maybe a Dream (NCCD, 1971), p. 40.

5 David Street, Robert Vinter and Charles Perrow, Organization for Treatment, (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

6 Hans W. Mattick and Alexander Aikman, "The Cloacal Region of American Corrections: Prospects for Local Jail Reform," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 381 (January, 1969), pp. 109-118.

7 Evidence supporting this view is presented on pages 32 and 47 of this report.

8 Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), p. 14.

9 See Mattick and Sweet, Illinois Jails, pp. 365-376 and Daniel Glaser, "Some Notes on Urban Jails," Crime in the City, ed. Daniel Glaser (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 242-244.

10 Thomas Mathiesen, Across the Boundaries of Organizations: An Exploratory Study of Two Penal Institutions (Berkley: Glendessary Press, 1971).

11 U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Illinois, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

12 Illinois Department of Corrections, '71 Annual Report: Bureau of Detention Standards and Services (State of Illinois, May, 1972).

13 U.S. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Local Jails: A Report Presenting Data for Individual County and City Jails From the 1970 National Jail Census (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973).

14 It should be cautioned that this can not be interpreted as showing that 48.6% of all individuals booked during that time period were repeaters. Our sample was chosen randomly from bookings, and hence is biased to overrepresent those booked more than once.

15 Recognition of this trend can be found in, Kenneth Lamott, "The San Quentin Story--The Prisons are Getting a Tougher Class of Convicts," The New York Times Magazine, (May 2, 1971).

[16] National Sheriffs' Association, Manual on Jail Administration (Washington D.C.: National Sheriffs' Association, 1970), p. 8.

[17] Mattick and Sweet, Illinois Jails, p. 123.

[18] Richard H. Hall, Organizations: Structure and Process, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972), p. 119.

[19] Daniel Glaser, "Some Notes on Urban Jails," p. 242.

[20] Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology, (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 135-140.

[21] American Medical Association, Medical Care in U.S. Jails: A 1972 AMA Survey (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1973).

III

THE INTERNAL CONTEXT OF JAILS: STAFF ORIENTATIONS

Introduction

In the preceding section of the report a variety of characteristics of the sample jails were discussed. This material included observational data collected during field visits, structural data collected by both the study team and other researchers and state agencies, and permitted consideration of some issues which could be defined as "external" parameters of jail activity, and some which could be defined as "internal" parameters. In this section the focus will be exclusively on the internal context of the jail as seen by jail staff.

While not initially built-in to the research design, systematic collection of data from jail staff appeared to be desirable relatively early in the field work. Conversations with jailers, as well as sheriffs and deputies, suggested that there were areas of both convergence and divergence in orientation and philosophy - "correctional ideology" - which promised to be interesting and important contributors to an overall understanding of the jail if systematic, comparable information could be gathered. On an impressionistic basis it appeared that differences in orientation and philosophy had consequences for various aspects of jail management, and might even, therefore, be reflected in differences in structural arrangements.

At the very least, the orientations of the staff constitute one component of the negotiated social order which obtains within any jail and are important for that reason alone. On the other hand, some investigators have found that "organizational climate" - the aggregated perceptions of

organizational reality by employees - is related in important ways to both the structure and outcomes of organizational activity.[1] We were interested in the context out of which "organizational climate" develops, the general philosophical orientations of staff toward a number of substantive areas of importance in the day-to-day operation of jails. For both reasons it was decided to attempt to develop a way of tapping staff orientations toward the jail in something more than an impressionistic fashion.

The literature on jails is remarkably devoid of attempts to obtain this kind of data from staff, and such attempts are only slightly less uncommon in prisons, juvenile institutions and other kinds of "correctional" settings.[2] Because the area is largely unexplored, it was felt that some preliminary efforts might indicate the potential that such research might offer for both students of jails and those concerned with policy formulation. In focusing on staff orientations we do not mean to imply that the orientations of either the inmates or the community toward the jail are unimportant or irrelevant. In fact, we would urge researchers and policy-makers to encourage efforts to develop data bases which include the orientations of these groups as well as staff. Limitations of time and other resources dictated that our efforts be focused on staff only, however.

Methodology

Given the paucity of previous research in this area on jails, there were few guidelines to direct the specifics of our efforts.[3] There were, however, some general considerations which were important determinants of the ultimate strategy developed. First, our previous field work in jails had highlighted the importance of the way in which jailers developed information about new inmates in determining such things as

cell assignments and trusty selection. Hence, we wanted to pursue the issue of staff orientations toward inmates. Second, it was felt that the characteristics of the jail itself were important as were methods of maintaining discipline. Finally, since the jails being studied were small relative to other kinds of organizations, it was desirable to obtain data from as many staff members as possible.

Accordingly, an interview schedule was developed which was designed to incorporate the first three considerations noted above while eliminating the problems of non-response typically associated with mailed questionnaires. The schedule can be found in Appendix A. The staff were asked four questions of relevance for this report. First, they were asked to think about the type of inmate with which they would want to deal if they had a choice. They were provided with a list of ten characteristics of inmates such as Age, Charge, Appearance and Previous Incarceration. Respondents were asked to state how each characteristic was important. A possible response was, for example, that the jailer preferred to deal with inmates over 25 years of age. They were then asked to distribute 100 points among the characteristics to reflect the importance they attached to each one. If all were considered to be equally important, for example, each would receive ten points. For every staff member interviewed, therefore, we knew how much importance was attached to each inmate characteristic and in what way the characteristic was considered important. As will be discussed below, it turned out that some characteristics were considered to be important in a variety of ways. In the case of appearance, for example, all those interviewed said that cleanliness and neatness was what was important; in the case of age, however, some reported that they preferred inmates between the ages of 17 and 25, others over 25 and

still others reported that they didn't care as long as there were no juveniles.

The particular means of assigning importance, that is, asking the respondents to distribute 100 points among the alternatives, was chosen for technical reasons. By using ipsitive numbers the problem of comparing responses for the same items across respondents is minimized, and there is greater justification for assuming an interval level of measurement. This, in turn, means that certain kinds of statistical manipulations can be undertaken with the data collected. This procedure was used for all of the questions examined in this section of the report.

The second question concerned jail characteristics. Staff were asked to consider a list of nine characteristics of jails and to indicate how important each would be in their own definition of an "ideal" jail by distributing 100 points among the options. The third question focused on methods for maintaining discipline, and respondents were asked to indicate the relative importance of nine disciplinary methods, again by distributing 100 points. Finally, staff were asked to consider five alternative statuses that inmates could occupy while being held in the jail and to indicate their preferences regarding the distribution of inmates across these statuses. Responses to these four questions comprise the data on staff orientations.

The interview schedules were administered on an individual basis in the field with the full cooperation of the sheriff. In one of the eight jails it was not possible to conduct the interviews for a variety of reasons, so the number of jails in which they were conducted is seven. The total number of staff interviewed was 67 out of a population in the seven jails of 87.[4] Of the 67 interviewed, 53 were jailers and matrons and 14 were command staff. Matrons were interviewed only in those

instances where they appeared to have responsibilities beyond merely being physically present to satisfy statutory requirements. While time-consuming, the interview procedure increased the usable response rate considerably as well as eliminating problems of lack of clarity in instructions and other kinds of misunderstandings which plague mailed questionnaires.

It should be emphasized that with a sample size of 67, there are limitations on the kinds of inferences one should draw from the findings. There are also limitations to what can be done with the data statistically. On the other hand, the purpose of collecting the data in the first place was to test the feasibility of the research strategy and examine the potential utility of the findings generated. In this regard, the smallness of the sample size poses no problems whatsoever.

Results

1. Inmate Characteristics

The first set of data to be presented is based on responses to the question of what the characteristics of the "ideal" inmate would be. Table 1 presents the aggregated data, that is, data from all 67 interviews, while Table 2 presents the breakdown of responses by jail. It should be noted that both the mean and the standard deviation for each characteristic are included in the tables. The larger the mean, the greater the importance attached to the particular characteristic. The larger the standard deviation, the less agreement there was among respondents regarding the importance of that characteristic.

Table 1

The Relative Importance of Characteristics
of the "Ideal" Inmate as Seen by all Respondents
(N=67)

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation
Age	9.94	11.95
Previous Incarceration in this Jail	6.19	5.53
Place of Residence	3.78	5.62
Charge	8.82	9.70
Previous Incarceration in State Penitentiary	6.72	8.30
Personal Appearance	13.88	18.46
Relationship with other Inmates	17.30	12.67
Relationship with Jail Staff	19.84	17.32
Race	5.30	9.41
Previous Jail History	7.45	8.90

From the perspective of the staff, the most important characteristic of the ideal inmate is his relationship with the jail staff, followed by his relationship with other inmates and his personal appearance. It should be noted that there was substantially more agreement among those interviewed about the importance of the former characteristics than the latter. It might also be noted that information regarding the two characteristics seen as most important is least likely to be available to the staff when an individual first enters the jail. Thus it is likely that initial decisions about how this individual is to be handled are based on personal appearance, age and charge--if we can assume that these responses are a reasonably accurate reflection of the importance that staff actually attach to each of the characteristics. In the case of all three of these characteristics, the standard deviation exceeds the mean, a fact which reflects substantial variability among respondents and which, therefore, suggests that it is unlikely to expect uniform treatment of a given individual by jail employees.

Table 2

Relative Importance of Characteristics of the
"Ideal" Inmate as Seen Within Each Jail

Inmate Characteristics	Jail A		Jail B		Jail D		Jail E		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)
Age	8.33	(12.25)	11.44	(14.49)	10.18	(8.74)	6.25	(4.79)	9.67	(7.12)	16.00	(20.43)	7.00	(6.71)
Previous incarceration in this jail	6.67	(5.42)	4.50	(6.80)	6.00	(4.24)	8.75	(2.50)	9.17	(5.85)	5.00	(6.12)	6.60	(4.22)
Area of residence	3.33	(5.15)	1.44	(2.28)	6.91	(8.67)	5.00	(4.08)	5.83	(2.04)	2.00	(2.74)	5.20	(5.02)
Charge	10.00	(12.25)	9.61	(10.42)	6.91	(7.42)	16.25	(4.79)	10.67	(9.42)	3.00	(4.47)	3.60	(3.51)
Previous incarceration in a state penitentiary	7.78	(11.91)	6.44	(7.19)	3.73	(6.31)	5.00	(5.77)	10.83	(5.85)	4.00	(4.18)	9.60	(7.13)
Personal appearance	14.56	(22.49)	16.50	(23.97)	12.46	(19.74)	8.75	(11.09)	9.17	(3.76)	19.00	(13.42)	9.80	(7.09)
Relationship with other inmates	14.44	(12.23)	16.67	(12.49)	16.36	(13.43)	21.25	(4.79)	13.16	(6.34)	24.00	(16.73)	27.00	(17.18)
Relationship with jail staff	26.33	(24.85)	18.06	(15.54)	16.82	(15.05)	16.25	(7.50)	15.00	(4.47)	18.00	(8.37)	20.00	(17.68)
Race	2.06	(3.46)	6.56	(12.14)	11.36	(14.68)	5.00	(4.08)	2.00	(4.00)	2.00	(2.74)	6.60	(4.22)
Previous jail history	6.39	(7.44)	5.94	(7.64)	9.27	(14.86)	7.50	(5.00)	14.50	(6.44)	7.00	(8.38)	4.60	(4.56)

When the responses to this question are broken down by jail, the heterogeneity of the orientations of staff become very apparent. The results of this breakdown are presented in Table 2. Table 2 is most useful as an indicator of the variability of staff orientations across jails. To explore this issue further, the mean responses for each characteristic for each jail were ranked by jail. To the extent that mean ranks for a given characteristic are similar across jails, it can be stated that staff see the relative importance of that characteristic in the same way. Where differences in rank occur for a given characteristic, however, differences in definitions of relative importance exist. In addition to the rank of the mean responses for each characteristic for each jail, the rank of the mean of means was computed in order to provide a "profile" of the ranks of characteristics across all jails. These data are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Rank Importance of Characteristics of the "Ideal" Inmate for each Jail

Characteristic	Rank of Means Jail A	Jail B	Jail D	Jail E	Jail F	Jail G	Jail H	Rank of Mean of Means Total Sample
Age	5	4	5	7	5	4	5	4
Previous Incarceration in this Jail	7	9	9	4.5	6	6	6.5	8
Area of Residence	9	10	7.5	9.5	9	9	8	10
Charge	4	5	7.5	2.5	4	8	10	5
Previous Incarceration in a State Penitentiary	6	7	10	8	8	7	4	7
Personal Appearance	2	3	3	4.5	7	2	3	3
Relationship with Other Inmates	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	1
Relationship with Jail Staff	1	1	1	2.5	1	3	2	2
Race	10	6	4	9.5	10	10	6.5	9
Previous Jail History	8	8	6	6	2	5	9	6

Using the mean of means as the profile, the rank of each characteristic for each jail was subtracted from the overall mean and these differences were summed to examine the extent to which any given jail resembled the profile. Thus, Jail B is most like the profile while Jails F and H are least like the profile. It should be noted that other kinds of criteria could be used in constructing the basis for comparison. If, for example, there was some feeling about how these inmate characteristics should rank, this normative definition could be substituted for the mean of means and the differences between each jail and this new criterion could be easily identified. One would then be aware of how closely any given jail conforms to the criterion.

Earlier it was noted that each respondent was asked to state how each characteristic was important. In the case of four characteristics, there was general consensus concerning this question. Cleanliness and neatness were cited as the way in which personal appearance was important; the "ideal" inmate would be clean and neat. Also, the ideal inmate would be one who would get along well with both other inmates and staff and not be a troublemaker. Finally, where race was important, it was in terms of problems of racially mixed cell blocks and staff-inmate conflicts caused by the presence of black inmates.

For the rest of the characteristics, however, there was less agreement. In Table 4 the kinds of responses made are summarized to provide an indicator of the way in which staff defined the importance of these characteristics.

What does the data in Tables 3 and 4 mean? First of all, it should be noted that how a characteristic is important is not necessarily related to the magnitude of its importance relative to other characteristics.

Table 4

Staff Definitions of How Characteristics of the "Ideal" Inmate are Important

Characteristic	Categories of Response	$\bar{x}$ Importance	S.D.	# of Respondents	% of Respondents
Age	No Difference	2.05	3.33	22	33%
	Older than 25	10.54	7.66	28	42%
	Only 17-25	18.89	17.64	9	13%
	No Juveniles	19.50	18.06	8	12%
Previous Incarceration in this Jail	No Difference	3.15	3.71	26	39%
	Want in Before	7.96	6.09	27	40%
	Want Not in Before	8.43	4.96	14	21%
Place of Residence	No Difference	1.78	2.89	41	61%
	Want from Local Address	8.06	7.10	18	27%
	Want not from Local Address	3.00	2.74	5	07%
	Want not from Ghetto	6.67	2.89	3	05%
Charge	No Difference	3.27	4.60	30	45%
	No Problems	12.67	9.89	9	13%
	Want Misdemeanants	10.72	7.74	18	27%
	Want Felons	18.60	13.81	10	15%
Previous Incarceration in a State Penitentiary	No Difference	3.69	4.34	26	39%
	Want Prev. in State Pen.	11.14	11.33	22	33%
	Want No Prev. State Pen.	5.74	6.19	19	28%
Previous Jail History	No Difference	3.30	4.75	33	49%
	Want Previous History	12.48	11.13	21	31%
	Want No Previous History	9.85	8.44	13	19%

For example, a jailer might indicate that he preferred inmates over 25 years of age. That is how the characteristic of age is important. The same jailer might indicate that this characteristic, relative to others such as appearance or relations with staff, was relatively unimportant. So what one learns from Table 4 is, for example, that those ten individuals who indicated that they preferred felons also felt that having felons in the jail was relatively highly important ($\bar{x}$=18.60). On the other hand, the 19 individuals who indicated that they would prefer inmates with no previous incarceration in a state penitentiary did not feel that, relative to other inmate characteristics, this characteristic was terribly important ($\bar{x}$=5.74). Limitations of space and resources preclude discussion of the implications of each set of differences; what is important is the variability that obviously exists in staff orientations independent of the specific content of this variability. In addition, our confidence in the validity of the methodology is enhanced in that where a staff member's verbal statement was that a characteristic made "no difference", this was invariably matched by subsequently assigning a very low number of points to that characteristic.

Another question of interest is the extent to which jailers and their superiors agree or disagree on the relative importance of inmate characteristics. As noted earlier, 53 jailers and matrons were interviewed as were 14 command staff. In Table 5 the relative importance attached by each of the groups to the 10 inmate characteristics is presented.

Table 5

Relative Importance of Inmate Characteristics by Organizational Position of Respondent

	Organizational Position			
	Jailers & Matrons		Command Staff	
Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Age	9.96	12.61	9.86	9.42
Prev. in Jail	5.66	4.74	8.21	7.75
Residence	3.45	3.62	5.00	8.99
Charge	8.64	9.86	9.50	9.39
State Pen.	6.80	8.74	6.43	6.63
Appearance	15.13	19.83	9.14	11.31
Rels. w/Inmates	17.62	12.75	16.07	12.74
Rels. w/Staff	20.64	18.45	16.79	12.19
Race	5.08	9.76	6.14	8.25
Prev. Jail Hist.	6.02	8.29	12.86	9.35

Overall, the definitions of the two groups are relatively similar. The jailers and matrons, who have more contact on a routine basis with inmates in general, weighted relationships with staff more heavily than did the command staff, even though both groups ranked this as the most important characteristic. Appearance was much more important to the jailers and matrons, while previous jail history was more important to the command staff. Overall, however, the data do not suggest any major divergence in orientation between the two groups.

To pursue the question further, one additional analysis was performed. It was felt that variability might well exist between jails regarding the

amount of convergence between the orientations of occupants of superordinate and subordinate organizational positions, and that this variability, if it existed, would be masked by the overall responses. Accordingly, the importance of inmate characteristics was examined by jail for jailers and matrons and command staff. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 6.

In considering these data, it should be noted that asterisks (*) indicate instances in which the standard deviation was greater than the mean, and thus in which there was substantial disagreement among the respondents regarding the importance of the characteristic in question. In Jail A, for example, there was substantial disagreement among the jailers and matrons regarding the relative importance of 7 of the 10 characteristics, while substantial disagreement among the command staff existed with respect to only three characteristics, all of which were among those seven noted above. It should also be noted that we were unable to interview any command staff in Jail E, and that in Jails G and H only one command staff person was interviewed. This means that Jail E is omitted from the analysis, and there will not be any disagreement noted in the command staff responses for Jails G and H. In the four jails that remain (A, B, D, F) it can be seen that there is substantially more homogeneity in orientation within organizational positions in Jail F than in any of the others. It is also the case that the greatest amount of homogeneity among jailers and matrons is found in Jail H. Were any measures of jail "efficiency" or "effectiveness" available, it would be important to examine the extent to which this kind of outcome was related to orientational homogeneity. In Jail D, for example, there is a general lack of convergence in definitions of relative importance of inmate characteristic within organizational positions

and also a lack of convergence between positions. Is it likely, therefore, that as an organization this jail is run less effectively than a jail in which there was consensus both within and across positions? These kinds of questions are important as the potential policy implications of this sort of research are considered.

2. Jail Characteristics

In addition to the characteristics of the "ideal" inmate, it was felt that staff orientations toward the characteristics of the jail as an organization were important. Accordingly, a list of nine characteristics, chosen on the basis of discussions with officials, as well as the literature, was developed, and each respondent was asked to distribute 100 points among the alternatives to indicate the relative importance of each. Table 7 presents the mean results for the total sample, and Table 8 the results by jail.

Table 7

The Relative Importance of Characteristics of the "Ideal" Jail as Seen by all Respondents

Characteristics	Mean	Standard Deviation
Jail Trusties	8.18	5.98
Recreation Area for Prisoners	16.31	11.25
Closed Circuit TV	11.81	7.14
Library	8.63	4.55
Electronic Door Locks	10.24	7.29
Special Cell Block for Work Release Prisoners	8.91	5.79
Frequent Searches for Contraband	11.27	7.10
Staff Training in Human Relations	15.69	9.96
One-Man Cells	9.03	9.13

Table 6

The Relative Importance of Inmate Characteristics by Organizational Position by Jail

Inmate Characteristics/Org. Position

Characteristics	Jail A Jailers and Matrons	Jail A Command Staff	Jail B Jailers and Matrons	Jail B Command Staff	Jail D Jailers and Matrons	Jail D Command Staff	Jail F Jailers and Matrons	Jail F Command Staff	Jail G Jailers and Matrons	Jail G Command Staff	Jail H Jailers and Matrons	Jail H Command Staff
Age	7.33*	13.33	10.85*	13.00	10.00	12.50	12.50	4.00*	20.00*	0.0	8.75	0.0
Previous Incarceration in this Jail	6.33	8.33	2.78*	9.00*	5.11	10.00	7.50	12.50	6.25	0.0	8.25	0.0
Area of residence	2.67*	6.67*	1.23*	2.00*	5.11	15.00*	6.25	9.00	2.50*	0.0	6.50	0.0
Charge	10.33*	8.33	8.07*	13.60	7.33*	5.00*	8.50*	15.00	3.75*	0.0	4.50	0.0
Previous incarceration in a state penitentiary	7.00*	11.67	6.23*	7.00	4.56	7.00	11.25	10.00	5.00	0.0	12.00	0.0
Personal appearance	16.60*	4.33*	19.79*	8.00*	13.00*	10.00*	10.00	7.50	13.75	40.00	12.25	0.0
Relationship with other inmates	14.67	13.33	18.46	12.00	17.78	10.00*	13.50	12.50	22.50	30.00	21.25	50.00
Relationship with Jail staff	28.67	16.67	20.00	13.00	18.89	7.50	16.25	12.50	15.00	30.00	12.50	50.00
Race	2.33*	0.67*	5.85*	8.40	9.44*	20.00	2.50*	1.00*	2.50*	0.0	8.25	0.0
Previous Jail history	4.33*	16.67	2.85*	14.00	9.11*	10.00*	11.75	20.00	8.75	0.0	5.75	0.0

*An asterisk (*) indicates that the standard deviation exceeded the mean for that response.

**Note: Jail E is not included in this analysis because no command staff were interviewed there. In Jails G and H there was only one command staff person interviewed, so there is no variance in response.

Recreation areas for prisoners and staff training in human relations are clearly the two most important characteristics of an "ideal" jail according to the views of those interviewed, followed by closed circuit T.V., frequent searches for contraband and electronic door locks. Interestingly enough, the two characteristics defined as most important by the staff both have an inmate welfare focus while the next three in importance all appear to be methods of maintaining control within the jail. In contrast to the characteristics of the "ideal" inmates, there is a more balanced distribution of importance across the characteristics of the ideal jail and less disagreement about the relative importance the various characteristics should have among the staff. In other words, there is less overall variability in the responses of staff to what importance should be attached to characteristics of jails than in their responses to that which should be attached to characteristics of inmates. When the relative importance of various characteristics of the ideal jail is viewed on a jail-by-jail basis, the picture changes, however. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 8.

The data in Table 8 suggest that while on an aggregate basis there was a reasonable amount of convergence in staff orientations toward the relative importance of jail characteristics, on a jail-by-jail basis there were considerable differences. To examine this further the rank of means was computed in the same fashion as before in the discussion of inmate characteristics, and the ranks for each jail were compared to the mean of means for all seven jails. Difference scores were calculated and summed within jail to give a total D score reflecting the extent to which any given jail resembled the profile for all seven. These results are presented in Table 9.

Table 8

Relative Improtance of Characteristics of the "Ideal" Jail as Seen Within Each Jail

Jail Characteristics	Jail A		Jail B		Jail D		Jail E		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)
Jail trusties	6.67	(5.69)	9.33	(6.26)	6.36	(4.56)	15.00	(9.13)	7.67	(5.35)	6.20	(4.44)	10.60	(5.77)
Recreation area for prisoners	23.33	(14.14)	15.50	(12.58)	11.36	(5.46)	13.75	(7.50	13.67	(6.53)	14.20	(5.31)	12.20	(5.63)
Closed Circuit TV	11.94	(9.57)	13.89	(6.31)	9.82	(5.74)	11.25	(10.31)	9.33	(6.68)	12.20	(2.59)	11.20	(4.15)
Library	6.67	(4.20)	10.06	(3.35)	5.55	(4.28)	13.75	(7.50)	9.67	(2.42)	12.20	(4.38)	8.40	(2.70)
Electronic door locks	8.89	(6.98)	9.72	(5.28)	8.00	(4.31)	8.75	(10.31)	12.67	(8.17)	17.20	(14.72)	13.20	(4.32)
Special cell block for work release prisoners	8.06	(7.10)	7.78	(3.52)	7.64	(5.78)	12.50	(12.58)	9.33	(1.63)	13.20	(4.32)	11.20	(2.17)
Frequent searches for contraband	13.06	(9.10)	10.94	(6.01)	8.91	(6.46)	16.25	(4.79)	15.17	(4.26)	6.20	(5.68)	7.60	(4.78)
Staff training in human relations	13.89	(9.16)	18.83	(10.81)	22.09	(12.83)	6.25	(4.79)	12.67	(2.58)	14.20	(3.96)	9.40	(1.95)
One man cells	7.50	(7.12)	3.94	(4.41)	19.82	(11.70)	5.00	(10.00)	9.83	(6.56)	4.20	(5.76)	16.20	(3.83)

Table 9

Rank Importance of Characteristics of the "Ideal" Jail for Each Jail

Characteristic	Rank of Means Jail A	Jail B	Jail D	Jail E	Jail F	Jail G	Jail H	Rank of Mean of Means Total Sample
Jail Trusties	8.5	7	8	2	9	7.5	6	9
Recreation Area for Prisoners	1	2	3	3.5	2	2.5	3	1
Closed Circuit TV	4	3	4	6	7.5	5.5	4.5	3
Library	8.5	5	9	3.5	5	5.5	8	8
Electronic Door Locks	5	6	6	7	3.5	1	2	4
Special Cell Block for Work Release Prisoners	6	8	7	5	7.5	4	4.5	6
Frequent Searches for Contraband	3	4	5	1	1	7.5	9	5
Staff Training in Human Relations	2	1	1	8	3.5	2.5	7	2
One-Man Cells	7	9	2	9	6	9	1	7
ΣD	5	14	14	33	17	18	25	

$\bar{X}D=18.0$

Note particularly the lack of consensus across jails regarding the most important characteristic of the ideal jail. When contrasted with the data in Table 3, we see that the variability in responses regarding the importance of jail characteristics is greater in terms of relative ranks. What this means is that considerable variability exists in staff orientations toward the relative importance of both the characteristics of "ideal" inmates and "ideal" jails, but that the variability exists in different ways. In the case of orientations toward inmate characteristics, there is high variability <u>within</u> the staffs of particular

jails; while in the case of jail characteristics, there is low variability within jails, but high variability between jails. What this suggests is that the "organizational climate" of the jail contains fewer prescriptions about inmate characteristics than about jail characteristics, with the result that one can expect to find a reasonable amount of consensus within any particular jail on the part of the staff regarding what the ideal jail should look like, but that the content of the consensus is likely to vary from jail to jail. On the other hand, one should not expect to find as much consensus regarding inmate characteristics within any particular jail, but might well find more between jails.

Does the importance attached to the various characteristics of the ideal jail vary by organizational position? This question can be examined with the help of the data in Table 10.

Table 10

Relative Importance of Jail Characteristics by Organizational Position of Respondent

	Organizational Position			
	Jailers & Matrons		Command Staff	
Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Trusties	8.08	6.21	8.57	5.17
Recreation Area for Prisoners	17.15	12.37	13.14	4.09
Closed Circuit TV	11.68	7.76	12.29	4.20
Library	8.09	4.63	10.64	3.67
Electronic Door Locks	10.45	7.96	9.43	3.90
Block for Work Release Prisoners	8.59	6.09	10.14	4.40
Searches	11.55	7.72	10.21	3.97
Staff Training in Human Relations	15.74	10.47	15.50	8.10
One-Man Cells	8.77	9.71	10.00	6.66

As was the case with inmate characteristics, organizational position does not appear to be a major factor in the definition of the relative importance of jail characteristics. Jailers and matrons are more concerned than command staff with recreational areas for inmates, but both are equally concerned with the importance of human relations training for staff. Curiously, the least important for both groups is jail trusties. Given the importance generally attributed to trusties in the operation of jails in the literature on the subject, this finding raises some questions. Are the jail staff taking the role of the trusties for granted in responding to this question? Or are they telling us that, ideally, trusties would occupy positions of less significance than they currently do in the jail? Or have jail observers overestimated the role of trusties? At this point we do not have the answer, but feel that the question certainly merits a closer look. It may be that some traditional views of the way in which jails are operated need to be seriously examined.

Pursuing this analysis, the importance of jail characteristics was broken down by jail and by organizational position in order to see whether the aggregate pattern of convergence is found at the jail level. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 11.

It is clear from this table that considerable variability exists at the jail level that does not appear in the aggregate analysis. We find, for example, that in Jails A, G and F the command staff see trusties as more important than do the jailers and matrons; in Jail H the two groups see the importance of trusties in the same light; while in Jails B and D the jailers and matrons see the trusties as more important than do the command staff. In Jails D and G, jailers and matrons see staff training in human relations as more important than do command staff; in Jails A and B it is seen to be similarly important by both groups; while in Jails

Table 11

The Relative Importance of Jail Characteristics by Organizational Position by Jail

Jail Characteristics/Org. Position

Characteristic	Jail A		Jail B		Jail D		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff
Jail trusties	5.33	13.33	10.39	6.60	7.22	2.50*	6.50	10.00	5.00	11.00	10.50	11.00
Recreation area for prisoners	24.67	16.67	16.69	12.40	11.11	12.50	14.25	12.50	15.00	11.00	12.50	11.00
Closed circuit TV	12.33	10.00	13.08	16.00	9.78	10.00	9.00	10.00	12.50	11.00	11.25	11.00
Library	6.33	8.33	8.92	13.00	5.11	7.50	9.00	11.00	12.50	11.00	7.75	11.00
Electronic door locks	8.67	10.00	10.00	9.00	8.67	5.00*	12.75	12.50	12.50	11.00	13.75	11.00
Special cell block for work release prisoners	7.67*	10.00	7.69	8.00	6.00	15.00	9.20	10.00	18.75	11.00	11.25	11.00
Frequent searches for contraband	14.00	8.33	11.69	9.00	8.11	12.50	16.50	12.50	13.75	11.00	6.50	11.00
Staff training in human relations	14.00	13.33	18.77	19.00	23.67	15.00	11.50	15.00	5.00*	11.00	9.00	11.00
One man cells	7.00*	10.00	2.77*	7.00	19.78	20.00	11.50	6.50	2.50*	11.00	17.50	11.00

Note: Jail D is not included in this analysis because no command staff were interviewed there. In Jails B and E there was only one command staff person interviewed, so there is no variance in response.

*An asterisk (*) indicates that the standard deviation exceeded the mean for that response.

F and H it is seen as more important by the command staff than by the jailers and matrons.

Relative to inmate characteristics there is more convergence within organizational position regarding relative importance of jail characteristics. Across all four jails in which there is more than one member of the command staff who was interviewed (Jails A, B, D and F), for example, there are only two instances in which the standard deviation exceeded the mean response with respect to jail characteristics, whereas there were thirteen such instances with respect to inmate characteristics. And across all six jails in the analysis, there are five instances in which the standard deviation of the jailer and matron responses exceeded the mean with respect to jail characteristics, whereas there were twenty-six such instances with respect to inmate characteristics. What this suggests is that there are some important differences in orientations as a function of organizational position when responses of staff are examined on a jail-by-jail basis. Also it appears that the orientations are relatively homogeneous within positions with regard to jail characteristics, in sharp contrast to what was found with regard to inmate characteristics.

3. Disciplinary Methods

A third area that was examined was disciplinary methods. Given the importance usually attributed to maintaining control within "correctional" settings, we were interested in exploring staff orientations towards a variety of sanctions invoked for non-compliance with jail rules and norms. A list of nine such sanctions was developed, again on the basis of discussions with individuals in the field and references in the literature.[5] Each staff member interviewed was asked to distribute 100 points among the nine alternatives to reflect his or her view of their relative importance as ways of maintaining discipline in a jail. They were not

Table 13

Relative Importance of Various Disciplinary Methods as Seen Within Each Jail

	Jail A		Jail B		Jail D		Jail E		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)
Forbid radio or TV	21.40	(5.89)	14.89	(6.83)	16.46	(7.70)	22.75	(14.73)	18.33	(9.31)	16.80	(12.19)	18.40	(7.09)
Forbid visits	20.83	(6.47)	20.56	(6.84)	18.27	(7.73)	19.00	(8.21)	15.33	(7.37)	27.60	(11.24)	9.20	(6.47)
Hold up mail	11.67	(7.86)	8.33	(4.02)	10.18	(6.65)	10.25	(7.09)	14.33	(5.72)	16.00	(10.84)	3.00	(2.74)
Reduce food	1.39	(3.35)	3.61	(7.63)	2.91	(3.73)	4.00	(5.23)	4.33	(6.83)	6.00	(5.48)	4.00	(4.18)
Impose extra work	2.78	(4.28)	3.50	(4.76)	7.46	(6.49)	4.00	(5.23)	5.67	(4.18)	2.00	(4.47)	9.40	(7.54)
Solitary confinement	14.72	(9.47)	16.61	(10.58)	12.00	(7.06)	10.25	(8.18)	13.33	(5.68)	3.00	(4.47)	16.00	(8.22)
Report conduct to a judge	5.56	(8.38)	15.00	(12.12)	13.27	(12.89)	6.50	(5.07)	9.17	(8.01)	3.00	(4.47)	9.60	(7.30)
Corporal punishment	2.50	(3.93)	0.83	(3.54)	2.82	(4.29)	5.25	(6.08)	3.17	(4.02)	0.0	(0.0)	8.00	(5.70)
Take away good time	19.17	(17.59)	16.67	(7.07	16.55	(11.27)	17.75	(6.08)	16.33	(3.45)	25.60	(5.86)	22.40	(16.62)

relative importance of jail characteristics and that agreement about the relative importance of disciplinary methods falls in between if we look at the standard deviations alone. The picture changes somewhat when we look at the means of relative importance for each method within jails for all seven jails, as can be seen in Table 13.

The means from Table 13 were ranked within each jail and then compared to the mean of means for all seven jails. Difference scores were then calculated between the mean each jail received for each method and the mean of means for that method, and these differences were summed within jails to provide an overall measure of the extent to which any one jail deviated from the composite profile of the jails together. These data are presented in Table 14.

Table 14

Rank Importance of Various Disciplinary Methods for Each Jail

	Rank of Means							
Disciplinary Method	Jail A	Jail B	Jail D	Jail E	Jail F	Jail G	Jail H	Rank of Mean of Means Total Sample
Forbid Radio or TV	1	5	2.5	1	1	3	2	3
Forbid Visits	2	1	1	2	3	1	6	2
Hold Up Mail	5	6	6	4.5	4	4	9	5
Reduce Food	9	7	8	8.5	8	5	8	8
Impose Extra Work	7	8	7	8.5	7	8	5	7
Solitary	4	2.5	5	4.5	5	6.5	3	4
Report Conduct to a Judge	6	4	4	6	6	6.5	4	6
Corporal Punishment	8	9	9	7	9	9	7	9
Take Away Good Time	3	2.5	2.5	3	2	2	1	1
ΣD	6	11	7	9	6	10	16	

$\bar{X}\Sigma D=9.3$

Comparing the mean sum of differences in Tables 3, 9 and 14 it is apparent that there is more agreement concerning the relative rank of importance of disciplinary methods than there is concerning the relative rank of importance of either jail characteristics or inmate characteristics. Given the debates that exist in the field about how control is most effectively maintained in "correctional" settings, we had anticipated more divergence of orientation among the staff. Does this suggest that staff have more closure on the issue in general than the experts? If so, and to the extent that experts attempt to impose definitions of relative importance of disciplinary methods which do not correspond to those of staff, widespread and perhaps uniform responses are suggested by our findings.

What about views of discipline by organizational position? Are there differences between the way jailers and matrons view discipline and the way command staff see the issue? In Table 15, responses are broken down by organizational position to examine this question.

Table 15

Relative Importance of Various Disciplinary Methods by Organizational Position of Respondent

	Organizational Position			
	Jailers and Matrons		Command Staff	
Disciplinary Method	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Forbid Radio or TV	18.19	7.97	17.64	9.02
Forbid Visits	20.08	7.87	16.71	8.50
Hold Mail	10.62	8.05	9.36	7.57
Reduce Food	3.17	5.54	3.29	5.15
Impose Extra Work	4.85	5.67	3.21	4.10
Solitary	13.59	9.23	13.71	9.03
Report Conduct to Judge	9.43	9.40	11.43	14.20
Corporal Punishment	2.38	4.18	3.21	5.04
Take Away Good Time	17.66	11.67	21.43	12.49

Table 16

The Relative Importance of Various Disciplinary Methods by Organizational Position by Jail

Disciplinary Methods/Org. Position

Disciplinary Method	Jail A		Jail B		Jail D		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff
Forbid TV	21.00	23.33	16.15	11.60	16.78	15.00	17.50	20.00	12.50	34.00	19.25	15.00
Forbid visits	21.00	20.00	22.30	16.00	19.00	15.00	19.00	8.00	26.25	33.00	7.75	15.00
Hold mail	11.67	11.67	8.08	9.00	9.11	15.00	16.25	10.50	20.00	0.0	3.75	0.0
Reduce food	1.33*	1.67*	3.85*	3.00*	3.56*	0.0	0.0	13.00	7.50	0.0	5.00	0.0
Impose extra work	3.00*	1.67*	3.15*	4.40*	3.15*	4.40*	6.50*	4.00	2.50*	0.0	11.75*	0.0
Solitary	15.00	13.33	16.46	17.00	16.46	17.00	13.25	13.50	3.75	0.0	15.00	20.00
Report conduct to a Judge	5.33*	6.67	13.08	20.00	13.08	20.00	7.50*	12.50	3.75*	0.0	12.00	0.0
Corporal punishment	2.00*	5.00	0.0	3.00*	0.0	3.00*	2.25*	5.00	0.0	0.0	10.00	0.0
Take away good time	19.67	16.67	16.92	16.00	16.92	16.00	17.75	13.50	23.75	50.00	15.50	50.00

Note: Jail E is not included in this analysis because no command staff were interviewed there. In Jails G and H there was only one command staff person interviewed, so there is no variance in response.

*An asterisk (*) indicates that the standard deviation exceeded the mean for that response.

The data indicate that jailers and matrons see forbidding visits as more important than do command staff and, conversely, that command staff see taking away good time as more important than do jailers and matrons. Overall, however, there is considerable agreement between and within the two groups regarding the relative importance of the various disciplinary methods. From these data, there is little to suggest that staff orientations toward discipline is likely to be an area of philosophical conflict. To pursue the question further, however, the responses were broken down by jail, and the results of this analysis can be found in Table 16.

These results present a somewhat more mixed picture than those in Table 15. We find that with respect to some disciplinary methods (e.g., forbid radio or TV; take away good time) there are reversals between jails regarding the importance attached by the two groups, suggesting that while there is a degree of overall convergence, there are differences by position across jails. The results are not as clear-cut as in the case of inmate characteristics where there was variability independent of both jail and organizational position or in the case of jail characteristics where within jail variability was low but between jail variability was high. There is some variability in response both by position and by jail in the case of disciplinary methods, but no definite pattern emerges.

4. Inmate Status

A final area of interest to the researchers was the "status" of various inmates within the jail. It has often been noted that the jail acts as a "catch-all" in the local criminal justice system, and plays a multiplicity of roles from detention center to rehabilitation facility.

As a consequence of these multiple roles, the inmates present in the jail at any particular point in time may be there for a variety of reasons. We were interested in determining staff preference with regard to the reasons for inmate incarceration or, as we have chosen to call it, inmate status. Five different categories were developed which were designed to reflect the variability in possible reasons why an inmate might be incarcerated. Staff interviewed were asked to distribute 100 points among these categories to reflect their preferences for inmate mix at any particular point in time. Their overall responses are presented in Table 17.

Table 17

The Relative Preference of Jail Staff for Various Inmate Statuses

Inmate Status	Mean	Standard Deviation
Not Yet Arraigned	18.87	15.95
Held for Investigation	9.33	9.88
Arraigned and Awaiting Trial	24.43	16.73
Convicted and Awaiting Further Legal Action	18.82	18.49
Sentenced to Serve Time in the Jail	29.40	20.55

When the preferences are broken down by jail, the patterns which are shown in Table 18 emerge. In five of the seven jails, the most preferred inmate status was "sentenced to serve time in the jail". However, the two jails in which this was not the most preferred status are "large" (Jails A and D) in terms of the numbers of inmates they deal with on a daily basis, and the overall results are difficult to interpret. To explore the issue further, the ranks of the means within each jail were computed as were the ranks of the mean of means across

Table 18

Relative Importance of Various Inmate Status as Seen Within Each Jail

Inmate Status	Jail A		Jail B		Jail D		Jail E		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)	Mean	(Standard Deviation)
Not yet arraigned	22.17	(12.43)	15.06	(12.07)	24.36	(28.62)	15.25	(10.81)	15.67	(11.36)	19.60	(18.57)	14.60	(5.27)
Held for investigation	9.89	(9.37)	6.56	(10.55)	9.73	(9.59)	15.25	(7.09)	14.67	(10.67)	3.60	(4.10)	11.00	(13.34)
Arraigned and awaiting trial	26.67	(20.01)	26.11	(19.10)	14.00	(9.20)	25.25	(13.79)	25.67	(18.75)	15.40	(7.27)	26.80	(9.58)
Convicted and awaiting further legal action	14.78	(7.86)	22.78	(30.51)	27.09	(14.67)	16.50	(9.43)	13.83	(11.82)	16.20	(12.28)	11.40	(6.15)
Sentenced to serve time in the jail	26.44	(11.95)	29.22	(22.61)	24.64	(14.68)	27.75	(31.63)	29.83	(36.14)	45.20	(23.12)	36.20	(16.07)

all seven jails. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 19.

Table 19

Rank Importance of Various Inmate Statuses for Each Jail

Inmate Status	Rank of Means: Jail A	Jail B	Jail D	Jail E	Jail F	Jail G	Jail H	Rank of Mean of Means Total Sample
Not Yet Arraigned	3	4	3	4.5	3	2	3	3
Held for Investigation	5	5	5	4.5	4	5	5	5
Arraigned and Awaiting Trial	1	2	4	2	2	4	2	2
Convicted and Awaiting Further Legal Action	4	3	1	3	5	3	4	4
Sentenced to Serve Time in the Jail	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
ΣD	2	2	6	3	2	4	0	

$\bar{X}\Sigma D = 2.71$

Jail D, a large jail, was least like the profile for all seven jails, and Jail H, the smallest jail, was most like the profile. However, Jail G, a small jail, also differed from the profile, so it is unlikely that staff orientations toward preferred inmate statuses are a function of jail size. Of the four jails most like the profile, two are large and two are small.

As was the case with the other three groups of variables, the effects of organizational position on staff orientations toward the relative importance of various inmate statuses were examined. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 20.

Table 20

The Relative Preference for Various Inmate Statuses by Organizational Position

Inmate Status	Organizational Position: Jailers and Matrons Mean	Jailers and Matrons Standard Deviation	Command Staff Mean	Command Staff Standard Deviation
Not Yet Arraigned	17.13	12.52	25.43	24.60
Held for Investigation	10.91	9.99	3.36	6.90
Arraigned and Awaiting Trial	22.08	14.09	28.57	24.33
Convicted and Awaiting Further Legal Action	21.06	19.38	10.36	11.63
Sentenced to Serve Time in the Jail	28.72	18.86	32.00	26.68

There appear to be some differences by organizational position in the preferences of staff for various inmate statuses. Command staff seem to have more definite preferences, clearly preferring inmates who have been sentenced to serve time in the jail and preferring not to have individuals who have not yet been arraigned. While the jailers and matrons have the same most preferred and least preferred alternatives, the magnitude of their preferences - and lack of same - are not as extreme. In other words, inmate status does not appear to make quite as much difference to jailers and matrons as it does to command staff. And while there is agreement at the extremes, there is not among middle-range preferences. Thus, while there are differences by position, they do not appear to be systematic or predictable.

When the effects of organizational position are examined for each jail, we find that there are quite substantial differences by position, although the small sample sizes within jails suggest caution in interpretation of these differences. The results are presented in Table 21.

Table 21

The Relative Preference for Various Inmate Statuses by Organizational Position for Each Jail

Inmate Status/Org. Position	Jail A		Jail B		Jail D		Jail F		Jail G		Jail H	
	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff	Jailers and Matrons	Command Staff
Not yet arraigned	24.20	12.00	12.00	23.00	15.00	66.50	15.00	17.00	20.50*	16.00	12.75	22.00
Held for investigation	11.87	0.0	7.54*	4.00*	11.89	0.0	15.25	13.50	4.50	0.0	13.75	0.0
Arraigned and awaiting trial	21.13	54.33	25.23	28.40	15.33	8.00*	25.50	26.00	15.25	16.00	30.75	11.00
Convicted and awaiting further legal action	16.00	8.67	30.15*	3.60*	29.33	17.00*	9.50*	22.50	20.25	0.0	8.75	22.00
Sentenced to serve time in the jail	26.80	24.67	24.85	40.60	28.33	8.00*	34.50*	21.00	39.50	68.00	34.00	45.00

*An asterisk (*) indicates that the standard deviation exceeded the mean for that response.

Note: Jail E is not included in this analysis because no command staff were interviewed there. In Jails G and H there was only one command staff person interviewed, so there is no variance in response.

In considering the data in Table 21, it should be pointed out that the one member of the command staff in Jail G assigned 68 points to the last alternative (sentenced to serve time in jail), and one member of the command staff in Jail D assigned all 100 points to the first alternative (not yet arraigned). We interpret this as indicative of two quite different orientations toward the role of the jail in the local criminal justice system. In the former case, the individual undoubtedly sees the role of the jail to a large extent as a "correctional" institution, while in the latter the individual most likely feels that the jail is not in the business of correcting. This inference from the data is based on conversations with a variety of jailers who evinced a good deal of variability on the question of what the role of the jail in the local criminal justice system should be. Some felt that the jail ought to get out of corrections altogether, while others felt that jails should make much stronger efforts in the "rehabilitation" of inmates.

Inspection of Table 21 also indicates that there was variability across jails in the relation between organizational position and inmate status preference. One could not predict the score that any one jail's command staff would assign to a given inmate status based on the score that another's gave the same status, nor could a jail's command staff scores be predicted from its jailer and matron scores.

5. Interrelationships Among the Categories

To what extent are staff orientations toward the relative importance of inmate characteristics related to their orientations toward the relative importance of jail characteristics? Or disciplinary methods? Or inmate status? These questions are important in any

effort to develop a picture of the internal context of jails, and we undertook a variety of analyses designed to explore them. Very briefly, our findings were:

1. Overall there is very little relationship among the items across categories. Consistent relationships did appear between responses to the relative importance of inmate characteristics and disciplinary methods, which indicates that the staff personnel interviewed, as a group, did not see these two general areas as independent of one another. But this was an exception. In all other cases (jail characteristics/disciplinary methods, inmate characteristics/inmate status, etc.), there were no consistencies. Appendix B presents the Pearson correlation coefficient matrices on which these conclusions are based.
2. When the relationships between items across categories for each jail separately are examined, the reason for the finding noted above is clear. Although the size of the samples involved makes interpretation of zero-order correlations very tenuous, it appeared that there were patterns of relationships among items <u>within</u> jails, but that these patterns did not appear <u>between</u> jails. In other words, a consistent pattern of relationships might be found between inmate characteristics and inmate status in Jail A and in Jail B, but the patterns were <u>different</u> for the two jails. For this reason, no pattern appeared in the aggregate analysis when responses were lumped together.

Taken together these findings strongly suggest that each jail has a relatively unique internal context which may be determined by a variety of factors of local importance. In a sense they correspond to the conclusion of a recent study of California jails in which it was

stated that:

> "The county-by-county pattern of organization allows tremendous variation in management. It was found that even everyday operations such as menu planning, maintenance procedures, booking, and similar matters differed from county to county, with those less-well-off counties often encountering difficulties in meeting normal demands. The independence of counties, however, tends to isolate one county from another, and limits significantly inter-county communications. Thus, aside from contiguous jurisdictions occasionally trading off an area or two, there is little exchange of essential information".[6]

There is little reason to assume that the situation is substantially different in the 102 counties of Illinois, even in spite of recent efforts to establish state-wide standards for jail operation. Given that county jails operate relatively independently from one another, it is not surprising that they would tend to develop somewhat unique definitions of their internal contexts. It is at least a testable hypothesis that as interdependence increases, staff orientations across jails are likely to converge.

In a sense, this kind of consideration may have implications for attempts at regionalization of corrections. If regionalization is to become a reality, extreme care must be taken to deal with the obvious variability that exists among county jails in the philosophical and, perhaps, operational orientations of their staffs. To overlook this variability is to invite conflict.

<u>Conclusions</u>

In this section of the report we have presented the results of structured interviews with 67 staff personnel in seven of the eight

jails on which the report as a whole is based. At the risk of over-simplification of the findings, it was found that there was considerable divergence in the definitions of staff of the relative importance of various inmate characteristics, jail characteristics, disciplinary methods and inmate statuses, in some cases within jails, in some cases between jails, in some cases as a function of organizational position and in some cases independent of all of the above. In particular, it was found that organizational position was not related to orientations for the sample as a whole, but was related when jails were examined individually. The results concerning the effects of size were more ambiguous. In some cases size did appear to be related to orientations, but in others it clearly was not. As a consequence, we cannot state that the staff of larger jails have orientations which are systematically different from those of the staff of small jails. And clearly on the basis of our research, we cannot speak of the orientations of jail staff in general as though there was consistent convergence in perceptions. The internal context of the jail appears to be highly variable, each jail being somewhat unique in this respect.

If we take staff orientations to be one important component of the internal context of jails, these findings are suggestive of some potential areas where planning and foresight need to be focused. To the extent that variability in internal contexts exists across jails, perhaps as a function of the role of the jail in the particular local criminal justice system in which it is located, efforts to develop policy for the organizations which do not take such variability into account are likely to encounter difficulties. This is not to imply that these orientations are not susceptible to change, only that change strategies for the

organizations themselves need to take variability in orientation into account.

We should underline the fact that it is very risky business to generalize from a sample size as small as the one we are dealing with here. In a sense, what we have concluded from this aspect of our research is that systematic attempts to gather information from jail staff about orientations can provide a useful input into the planning and decision-making process. Given the necessary resources, research of this type conducted on a more widespread basis could prove both interesting in and of itself, and potentially valuable given various informational needs for policy purposes. Our own bias is that more effective means need to be developed to analyze local criminal justice systems as a whole. The county jail is one component of this system, and staff orientations are one component of the jail. Were one able to include other components of the local criminal justice system within a more comprehensive research effort, the payoffs would be substantially increased.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See, for example, Douglas Hall, Benjamin Schneider and Harold Nygrew, "Personal Factors in Organizational Identification," Administrative Sciences Quarterly 15 (June, 1970), pp. 176-190 and Robert Guion, "A Note on Organizational Climate," Organizational Behavior and Human Performance 9 (February, 1973), pp. 120-125.

[2] Some of the more important exceptions to this in the general correctional literature are: Street, Vinter and Perrow, Organization for Treatment and the related custody-treatment continuum literature; Barry Brown, Robert DuPont, Nicholas Kozel and John Speracek, "Staff Conceptions of Inmate Characteristics: A Comparison of Treatment and Custodial Staffs at Two Differing Institutions," Criminology (August-November, 1971), pp. 316-329. For jails, the only comparable study we know of can be found in California Board of Corrections, California Correctional System Study: Jail Task Force Report (Sacramento: State of California, June, 1971).

[3] In many instances, the work of Hans W. Mattick was used as a guide in developing the items in the four sets of characteristics.

[4] Of these 87 individuals 7 are sheriffs, 12 supervisory or command staff members, 35 correctional officers, 10 deputes in jail work, three "court officers" and 20 matrons. In the later category, it is estimated that 16 of the 20 were involved in contact with the prisoners.

[5] The disciplinary categories adopted include nine of the ten used in the Illinois Jail Survey.

[6] California Board of Corrections, California Correctional System Study, pp. 26-27.

IV

IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

In this final section of the report the purpose is to present our reflections on the possible implications of the research and the findings generated therefrom. No claim is made that the implications discussed below are the only ones that are noteworthy, in fact it is hoped that the reader has seen implications beyond these presented here. Nor is it expected that the implications we see will be seen at all or in the same way by others. Hopefully, then, this section will provoke further reflection on and debate about county jails and the roles they play in local criminal justice systems.

The implications discussed are derived both directly and indirectly from the research itself, and as such represent a combination of empirically-grounded observations and reflections of a more impressionistic and speculative nature. As they are read, it should be remembered that our research was based on jails with an average daily inmate population of ten or more, leaving the very small (and numerically most numerous) jails out of consideration. The discussion is separated into two parts. In the first part some research implications are explored. The purpose is to highlight certain issues which, in the course of our own research, appeared to need further clarification or about which information of a more systematic nature appeared potentially beneficial from a theoretical and/or policy standpoint. In the second part some policy implications are set forth in an attempt to address what seemed to us to be important areas as the future of county jails in corrections in the

State of Illinois is debated.

Research Implications

1. More needs to be known about the composition of inmate populations as they are affected by local contexts and as they, in turn, affect the nature of the jail. Our research strongly suggests that one indicator of the role of the jail in the local criminal justice system is the composition of the inmate population, both sociodemographically (i.e., age, race, SES, etc.) and in terms of the range of charges for which inmates are being held and their previous criminal histories. Surprisingly little is know, however, about inmate populations. During the course of the research reported here, we were able to gather data, on a strictly confidential basis, in one county jail regarding its inmate population. A random sample was drawn of all commitments to the jail for any reason during the past five years, and basic sociodemographic and criminal history information was recorded. Assuming that jail records are somewhat reliable - an assumption which is becoming increasingly valid as the requirements for records at the state level become stronger - this information should prove both interesting and informative. While the data have not as yet been extensively analyzed, one preliminary analysis showed that 48.6% of the individuals in the sample had been in jail more than once during the period in question. Furthermore, these individuals accounted for 83.2% of the total number of confinements represented by our sample. It is our strong feeling that these data will be extremely revealing as they are analyzed further - the data cited above represents a tantalizing beginning - and that even more would be learned were this kind

of information available from a number of jails. Comparative analysis of inmate population data could prove to be a highly useful aid in the formulation of policy at the local, regional, and state levels, as well as revealing vis a vis both the influence of local contexts and the nature of relationships within the jail itself.

2. Longitudinal research on jails should be encouraged and facilitated. Studies of jails, as we have pointed out, are relatively rare. Almost non-existent, however, are studies of jails over time. The process of change in general - and with regard to jails in particular - is not well understood. We would argue that longitudinal analysis of the four dimensions discussed in this report - local context, jail structure, inmate population and staff perceptions - or even any subset of these, could lead to a variety of payoffs. Of particular interest from a policy point of view would be the potential benefits accompanying a field experimental approach to change accompanied by a thorough assessment of its efficacy. Changes in policy often have consequences which have not been wholly anticipated in advance, and it is not infrequently the case that these consequences are counter-productive, that is, they are at cross-purposes with the goals of the change effort. By introducing change on an experimental basis with the appropriate research design, the likely impacts of the change can be documented and appropriate corrective action can be taken, if indicated, prior to the introduction of the change on a widespread basis. Only through longitudinal research, however, can such an approach be fully effective.

Also of interest is the kind of information about change that a longitudinal research strategy can produce. To pursue the discussion

of inmate population initiated above as an example, longitudinal research can help to identify the relationships between change in local contexts and change in inmate populations. What impact, if any, for example, does change in the density of the population in a given area have on inmate population? Or change in the ethnic or racial composition of the population? Or change in the economic characteristics? These kinds of information, it appears to us, could serve usefully as a planning tool for those concerned with the future of jails in the state.

3. Systematic attention should be focussed on the nature of the relationships among agencies and organizations in the local area and the jail. Our research suggests that the jail is connected by a variety of kinds of transactions to a number of organizations and agencies in the area in which it is located. Included among these are various social service agencies, health organizations, businesses and libraries, to name but a few. While not systematically examined in our work, the existence of these relationships appears to be as much a function of the initiatives taken either by the jail or the organizations and agencies, as it is of the "ecology of penology", that is, the density and spatial distribution of these organizations in the local area. In other words, their existence does not necessarily mean that there is any interaction between them and the jail.

If it can be assumed that such interaction will have positive consequences for the operation of the jail - and on an impressionistic basis our work suggests that it does - then it would clearly be useful to know more about its frequency and impact. It is very clear from

our research that variability exists between jails regarding both the extent of transactions with social service, health and other kinds of organizations in the surrounding area, and in the degree of formalization of these relationships. In some cases, for example, there were contractual arrangements for service delivery, whereas in other cases the interaction was informally defined and appeared to be a function of personal contacts and individual initiatives.

As the role of the jail is debated, and as questions about the kinds of services that should be available to inmate populations are raised, information regarding both the current situation and how the situation has changed over time would be a valuable input into the discussions. Our own bias is that this kind of information could and should be collected periodically, not only from the jail itself but also from the organizations and agencies in the community.

4. Collection of data regarding staff perceptions of various aspects of jail organization and administration should be encouraged. With very few exceptions, there are almost no systematic, comparable data regarding staff perceptions of jails available. As was hopefully demonstrated in the section on staff orientations in this report, data of this sort can be valuable in both a descriptive and an analytic sense if they are collected with instruments which are carefully designed and administered. While our data were limited to seven jails, the potential inherent in the collection of comparable data from a larger sample is substantial.

5. Efforts to develop empirically-based models of local criminal justice systems should be encouraged. The point of departure for our

research was to focus on the internal properties of the jail as a social system, but over time our emphasis shifted toward consideration of the local criminal justice system as the context within which the jail can be best understood, and variability in the input/output characteristics of jails as a key and often overlooked area of inquiry. For this reason, variables such as the composition of inmate populations, the agencies responsible for placing the inmates in the jail, the means by which an inmate is released from the jail, and the length of stay of inmates in the jail have been isolated and examined both synchronically and diachronically. Based on our efforts to date, it appears that the determinants of the input/output characteristics of jails include not only properties of the jails themselves (e.g., structure and management) and the social and demographic features of the counties in which they are located, but also the nature of the arrangements by which the local criminal justice systems operate.

At this point, we think that we have a way of approaching some important problems through taking what we have learned thus far and attempting to model local criminal justice systems. In particular, we feel that the parameters influencing the flows of people (rate and volume) through that system are important. In the course of our research we have come across a wide variety of data--previously collected and currently being collected by various state and local agencies--which will permit the measurement of variables in the model, but which have as yet been little utilized either for research or planning purposes. With the development of models, it will be possible both to describe local criminal justice systems in terms that reflect the range of interdependencies that exist and to analyze, in a policy and planning

mode, the likely impact of various kinds of decisions affecting the parameters of the model on a county, regional or state-wide basis. Currently, efforts are underway in the Department of Corrections to establish a computerized information system, and these attempts should facilitate efforts at modelling local criminal justice systems.

Policy Implications

1. Within the range of jails discussed here, size does not appear to be an important criterion for differentiating among jails. The relationships between jail size and its internal characteristics are ambiguous at best. Although it should be reemphasized that very small jails have not been considered here, it appears that once jails reach a certain minimum size (here ten or more inmates on an average day), and assuming that they do not exceed a maximum (here unspecified, but probably around 100), the results of attempts to influence what takes place within a jail by determining its size are likely to prove unsatisfactory. The chief exception to this appears to be the way in which inmates are supervised. In the smaller facilities, there is often a reliance on one-man shifts to run both the jail and the Sheriff Department's radio system, with the result that there is a tendency for the extensiveness of supervision of inmates to decrease as jails become smaller.

2. Diversity among jails can be viewed as responses to local contexts. The differences which exist among jails are far from arbitrary, for in a very real sense it can be said that jails are responding to the needs, traditions and norms of the local criminal justice systems of which they are a part. Implementation of policy based on pre-conceived, inflexible

and over-determined correctional planning models on a county or regional basis should therefore be discouraged. This does not imply an abandonment of the planning process as an instrument of change; rather, it suggests that contingency models be substituted for monolithic models, and that the ways in which the jail is interconnected with other components of its local context be carefully examined. Only by a process in which these other agencies and groups reevaluate what it is they wish to be doing can the proper role of a county jail be established and planned for.

3. Regionalization of jails involves far more than constructing a new facility at the most accessible location. Any regional jail facility will have a multitude of local contexts to contend with. The result may be that such facilities will be placed under considerable conflicting pressures while at the same time receiving few of the benefits of being situated in a local context, particularly in terms of the informal, primary ties which tend to develop there. Further, the very diversity among the local criminal justice systems to be served by the facility will make planning extremely difficult, as each locality will have its own implications for the numbers and types of inmates which will be brought to the jail. As was previously noted, jail staffs at present have little contact with one another, and as a consequence have developed approaches to jail work which are highly unique to each locality. This, too, argues for caution in the process of regionalization. We are not arguing against regionalization *per se*, nor are we arguing that the primary ties in specific localities are without negative impact; but we are arguing that debates about the proper

role of the county jail and its staff and the strategies emerging from these debates take the importance of local context - and the advantages and disadvantages accruing from it - into account.

4. The role of the jail in the criminal justice system is in a state of flux. At present, the uses to which jails are put are chiefly shown in the inmates which they hold. Changes taking place in the composition of inmate populations highlight the need to focus not only on numbers of inmates who are and will be coming to the jail, but also the types of inmates. This is particularly true in terms of the average length of stay of the various groups of inmates in terms of legal status. In that regard, the contradictory trends toward increased pre-trial turnover and the enlargement of the "hard core" suggest that the concept of a single institution designed to hold both groups may be obsolete. In terms of regionalization, this might lead to the use of a number of facilities within any given region, with a distribution of the facilities following from the needs found in that region. For example, it may be feasible to combine the pre-trial function for all counties in the region in a single facility, with other inmates distributed among the constituent localities.

5. The effectiveness of jails will be enhanced by a reduction in the roles which they are called upon to perform. As organizations, jails are quite small, yet they are required to carry out a multiplicity of tasks which really require a dozen specialized organizations if they are to be properly executed. By viewing the jail as one of a number of organizations in a locality available to deal with social problems, and by cooperation among those organizations, it ought to be possible to define precisely what the jail is to be doing--what

types of individuals it will be responsible for dealing with. Once such a determination is made, jails can begin to be concerned with performing those roles they retain effectively. As work release programs enlarge, for example, it may be useful to consider transferring the participants to some medium security situation outside of the jail, a move which one of the jails we examined was in the process of carrying out.

6. A new conception of the role of jail staff members will be required. One encouraging trend we observed was the assignment of specific staff members to interact with and supervise of inmates as a full-time duty. Such a system will put inmates and staff in direct contact with each other, eliminating the traditional role of the trusties as the communication link. At the same time this will make the jail officers the principal connection between the inmates and outside agencies. New staff members ought to be recruited on this basis, looking for individuals who want to work with other human beings who have problems. The potential exists that such individuals, given a certain amount of training and supervision from professionals practicing in the community, can eventually take over the role of counselors and be responsible for the bulk of the rehabilitation programming in a jail. Some form of a "circuit rider" system might be feasible, with jail officers who have experience going to the various jails in a given region to provide the necessary training, advice and encouragement with which other jail officers can become more than turnkeys. It is our impression that many jail staff members are eager for such a role and they ought to be given access to the necessary resources.

7. Jail employees have extensive amounts of information on inmates available to them but are largely unable to use it. Our observations of the

day to day operations of county jails indicate that the information collected during the intake process or obtained from other law enforcement agencies that comprises an inmate's "file" in the jail is little used at present. A reevaluation of what constitute meaningful and useful information about inmates is in order, as is staff training in how such information can be used to evaluate, classify and understand the inmates they are dealing with.

8. The perceptions of staff members ought to be consulted in a systematic manner as a part of the policy making process. In one sense, such information can serve as a guide to potential conflicts and problem areas toward which the command staff ought to direct both close attention and training programs. A second use of this information would be the evaluation of alternative policy choices on the basis of the perspectives of the jail staff themselves.

One area of jail administration in which both of these uses is appropriate is that of discipline methods. When the staff members' responses to the questions on discipline presented in Section III are compared to the prevelance of the various methods in the eight jails in 1973, some interesting discrepancies emerge as the table below indicates.

Table 1
Incidence and Rated Importance of Discipline Methods: 1973

	Number of Jails Using-1973	Mean Importance to Jail Staff N=67
Forbid TV and Radio	5	18.08
Forbid Visits	7	19.73
Hold up Mail	4	10.36
Reduce Food	0	3.19
Impose Work	0	4.51
Solitary	8	13.61
Report Conduct to Judge	5	9.85
Corporal Punishment	0	2.55
Remove Good Time	4	18.45

In particular, it appears that solitary confinement is more widely used than its rated importance warrants, while removing an inmate's good time appears to be an under utilized disciplinary method.

By highlighting such discrepancies between organizational reality and staff desires, systematic interviews with staff members can serve to improve the overall efficiency of a jail.

9. The emphasis in jail-based rehabilitation efforts should be on encouraging the non-formal arrangements which are made possible by the position of jails in a local context. While there is clearly a place for formal classroom programs in jails, given the short duration of jail stays it is likely that greater results will be obtained from exploiting the "primary" nature of relationships in the jail. Doing so will necessarily place responsibility on the jail officer. They will need to develop skills enabling them to identify those inmates most likely to benefit and connect them with relevant groups and services in the community. Such a course of action will not be without problems. Non-formalized procedures lend themselves to abuses in that they are difficult to monitor and supervise. The existence of a formal set of procedures, however, says little about what actually occurs within an organization: formalization does not necessarily assure that decisions and behavior are actually guided by the specified procedures. In short, formal rules often give a false sense of propriety and too great an emphasis on them can merely serve to obscure what is actually occuring. On balance, it is our bias that formalization will prove more costly than its benefits can justify insofar as rehabilitation programming within jails is concerned. We would urge consideration be given to enhancing the awareness on the part of the jail officer of his potential in the rehabilitation process and to facilitating the realization of this potential.

10. A balance must be found between inmate and staff rights. It is unlikely that any efforts toward improving the conditions for either inmates or staff will succeed unless similar efforts are directed in behalf of the other group as well. At present, jail employees are being asked to perform an extremely difficult job with minimal monetary returns and without adequate preparation. The need is not for a staff comprised of psychologists, but of people who want to work with people who have problems and who have such training as is necessary to guide them in how to effectively reach another human being.

APPENDIX A

Jail Interview Schedule

Jailer Interview Schedule

JAIL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. Intake Procedures

1. When a new prisoner is brought to the jail, how do you determine if the prisoner will be a troublemaker.

2. What do you do with these kinds of people? (Troublemakers)

3. How do you determine in which cell a prisoner will be placed? (Do you use? age, prior criminal record, conduct, appearance, race)

4. What kinds of people do you try to put together in one cell block?

II. Trusties.

1. How are new trusties selected?

2. What do you look for when selecting them?

3. How do you get the information?

4. Are there different kinds of trusties?

III. General

1. What per cent of all new inmates are you familiar with from previous encounters?

   a. Is this a help in assigning cells?

   b. Is this helpful in choosing trusties?

   c. Is this helpful in knowing troublemakers?

2. Do you help prisoners by allowing them extra phone calls, visitors, or exchanging information between prisoners and their relatives or friends.

   a. Under what circumstances does this take place? (who)

3. What other jails are you familiar with?

   a. Which of these jails do you consider to be the best jails and why?

4. Are there any city jails in the county?

IV. Organizational Set relationships to other jails.

1. Are other jails ever used to hold inmates from this jail?

   a. When? (overflow, special problems)

   b. Which other jails?

2. Do other jails ever hold inmates in this jail?

   a. Which jails and why?

V. Other interorganizational involvements.

1. Are there ever circumstances where you are asked by law enforcement agencies to help them get information or cooperation from an inmate?

2. Are there ever circumstances where you intervene on an inmates behalf with some other agency or person like a judge? i.e. Do you ever contact a judge about setting a bond?

3. How often do you deal with the following organizations?
   a. Hours per day, week, or month.
   b. What is the form of the contact (Phone, in person)
   c. Is the contact regular or as needed?
   d. What is the nature of the contact (visit, to get info, etc.,)
      1. Local police -

      2. State police -

      3. FBI/Immigration -

      4. State's Attorney -

      5. Social agencies
         a. Religious

         b. Educational

         c. State agencies (e.g. DVR)

V. 3. 5. Social Agencies
         d. Other -

      6. Judges -

      7. Public defenders -

      8. Probation officers -

      9. Parole Officers -

JAILER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Our study is interested in how jails operate and how they might be improved. Rather than using our own ideas on this, we are trying to learn by asking people like you to give us your opinions and ideas based on your experience. There are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions I'll be asking. It isn't a test--what we want is what you think.

1. There are often many problems in operating a jail. In your experiences here, you have undoubtedly encountered some of these. Think for a minute about some of these problems and the kinds of inmates that you have to deal with. We are interested in the type of inmate you would want to deal with if you had a choice.

On the attached sheet is a list of characteristics of inmates. We would like you to tell us how important these characteristics are in choosing your "ideal" inmate. To do this, we would like you to distribute a total of 100 points among these characteristics. If they are all equally important, each one gets 10 points. If only one is important, it gets 100 points and the rest get zero, and so on.

(a) Why is this characteristic important?

2. Next, given your experience, I'd like you to think about waht an ideal jail would be like. Assume that you could design a jail and that money is no problem. How important would each of the following characteristics be? As in the last question, you have 100 points which you can distribute as you choose. (see attached sheet)

3. Who determines if this jail is being run properly?

What kinds of things do you think are important to them in reaching an evaluation of the jail?

4. Maintaining discipline is important in running a jail. How important are the following as ways of maintaining discipline in a jail? Once again, please distribute 100 points among the items. (If respondent asks, "In this jail?", answer that the question refers to jails in general)

5. Assume a jail has a capacity of 50 inmates:

(a) How many inmates should it have on an average day to operate smoothly?

(b) Given _____ inmates, how many staff members would a jail require?

(c) Of the _____ inmates, how many would you like to be: (see attached sheet)

1.

INMATE CHARACTERISTICS

_____	Age
_____	Previous incarceration in this jail
_____	Place of residence
_____	Charge
_____	Previous incarceration in a state penitentiary
_____	Personal appearance
_____	Relationship with other inmates
_____	Relationship with jail staff
_____	Race
_____	Previous jail history
TOTAL 100	Points

2.

JAIL CHARACTERISTICS

_____ Jail trusties

_____ Recreation area for prisoners

_____ Closed circuit TV

_____ Library

_____ Electronic door locks

_____ Special cell block for work release prisoners

_____ Frequent searches for contraband

_____ Staff training in human relations

_____ One man cells

TOTAL 100 Points

4.

DISCIPLINARY METHODS

____ Forbid radio or TV

____ Forbid visits

____ Hold up mail

____ Reduce food

____ Impose extra work

____ Solitary confinement

____ Report conduct to a judge

____ Corporal punishment

____ Take away good time

TOTAL 100 Points

5c.

INMATE STATUS

____ Not yet arraigned

____ Held for investigation

____ Arraigned and awaiting trail

____ Convicted and awaiting further legal action

____ Sentenced to serve time in the jail

APPENDIX B

Pearson Correlation Coefficients: Staff Orientations

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

Inmate Characteristics/Disciplinary Methods

	Forbid TV	Forbid Visits	Hold Mail	Reduce Food	Impose Work	Solitary	Report to Judge	Corporal Punish.	Take Away Time
Age	-.12	.19	.15	.24*	-.20*	.20*	-.11	-.04	-.20*
Prev. in Jail	.19	-.11	.27*	-.04	.06	.28*	-.27*	.15	-.27*
Residence	.07	-.25*	.18	.06	.19	-.12	.01	.17	-.10
Charge	-.07	.05	.09	-.12	.09	.16	.04	-.06	-.17
State Penn.	.00	.09	.03	-.04	-.02	.27*	-.05	.10	-.25*
Appearance	-.02	.04	-.28**	-.01	.12	-.31**	.05	-.06	.34**
Rel. w/Inmate	-.10	-.03	.08	-.12	.16	-.14	.05	.01	.08
Rel. w/Staff	.24*	.15	-.04	-.27	-.25*	-.07	-.09	-.13	.18
Race	-.12	-.33**	-.14	.44***	.06	.02	.36***	.00	-.16
Prev. Jail History	-.13	-.22*	.22*	.13	.05	.05	.02	.26*	-.14

N=67
*p< .05
**p< .01
***p< .001

Jail Characteristics/Disciplinary Methods

	Forbid TV	Forbid Visits	Hold Mail	Reduce Food	Impose Work	Solitary	Report to Judge	Corporal Punish.	Take Away Time
Trusties	.04	-.10	.05	.33**	.04	.17	-.07	.10	-.27*
Rec. Area	.09	.13	.01	-.32**	-.20*	-.26*	-.17	-.05	.45*
TV	-.09	-.16	-.06	.25*	.09	-.06	.11	.02	-.01
Library	-.03	-.07	.20*	.13	-.10	.15	-.02	.10	-.21*
Locks	-.14	.11	-.01	.29**	.00	.04	-.18	-.07	.05
Block for WR	.02	-.08	.02	.18	.04	.08	-.04	.13	-.15
Searches	-.14	-.04	-.05	-.11	-.04	.11	.07	.06	.05
Hum. Rel.	-.00	.13	.06	-.19	.05	.02	.17	-.12	-.18
Single Cells	.20*	-.07	-.14	-.16	.13	-.01	.10	-.02	-.05

N = 67
*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

Jail Characteristics/Inmate Status

	Not Arraigned	Investigation	Awaiting Trial	Convicted	Sentenced to Jail
Trusties	-.15	-.06	.22*	-.02	-.06
Rec. Area	.07	-.04	-.03	.05	.03
TV	-.06	.07	-.12	.08	-.04
Library	-.09	-.12	-.01	-.10	.22*
Locks	-.12	.05	.09	-.01	.01
Block for WR	.11	-.10	-.07	-.10	.29**
Searches	.16	.29**	-.02	.01	-.25*
Hum. Rel.	-.05	-.07	.03	.16	-.04
Single Cells	.21*	-.01	.04	-.10	-.10

Disciplinary Methods/Inmate Status

	Not Arraigned	Investigation	Awaiting Trial	Convicted	Sentenced to Jail
Forbid TV	-.06	.07	.03	.05	-.05
Forbid Visits	-.07	-.12	.05	.08	.00
Hold Mail	.21*	.05	.11	-.13	.15
Reduce Food	-.08	-.10	.03	.06	.04
Impose Work	-.11	.30**	-.22*	.13	.00
Solitary	-.06	.08	.30	-.20	-.05
Report to Judge	.01	.03	-.10	-.10	-.03
Corporal Punish.	-.07	.02	.03	-.10	.11
Take Away Time	.10	-.19	-.04	.02	.03

N = 67

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Inmate Characteristics/Jail Characteristics

	Trusties	Rec. Area	TV	Library	Doorlock	Block for WR	Searches	Hum. Rel.	Single Cells
Age	.08	-.10	.02	.15	.35**	-.02	-.19	-.05	-.10
Prev. in Jail	.01	-.01	-.12	.26*	-.20*	.19	-.11	.05	.06
Residence	-.16	-.11	-.01	.15	-.14	.10	.01	-.11	.34**
Charge	-.03	-.06	-.02	.07	-.12	-.12	.20*	-.06	.17
State Pen.	-.14	.01	-.12	-.02	-.08	.40***	-.05	.08	-.10
Appearance	-.06	.15	-.08	-.20*	.06	-.05	.15	-.03	-.10
Rel. w/ Inmates	.08	-.07	-.18	-.02	.00	-.09	.10	.13	.01
Rel. w/ Staff	-.14	.19	.19	-.12	-.16	-.20*	-.04	.04	.01
Race	.20*	-.30**	.14	.04	.08	.14	-.17	.05	.04
Prev. Jail History	.12	-.09	.10	.09	-.02	.14	-.04	-.12	-.01

N = 67

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Inmate Characteristics/Inmate Status

	Not Arraigned	Investigation	Awaiting Trial	Convicted	Sentenced to Jail
Age	-.05	-.07	.07	-.13	.07
Prev. in Jail	.12	.08	.29**	-.17	-.21*
Residence	.40***	.04	-.19	-.11	-.08
Charge	-.01	.11	.11	-.11	.03
State Pen.	-.11	.21*	.19	-.13	.05
Appearance	-.10	-.20*	-.21*	.42***	-.04
Rel. w/ Inmates	-.08	.12	-.03	-.09	.11
Rel. w/ Staff	.04	.15	-.03	-.14	.05
Race	.10	-.11	-.01	-.04	.00
Prev. Jail History	-.08	-.15	.02	.06	.07

N = 67

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

***$p < .001$

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